NILES' WEEKLY REGISTER.

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THE PAST—THE PRESENT—FOR THE FUTURE.

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☞The present number contains twenty-four pages—eight being added, the more conveniently to get-in the report of the minority of the committee on manufactures.

We forgot to mention that the title page and index for the last volume was sent out with the REGISTER of the 11th inst. and that the large supplement for that volume has been generally forwarded to those who have ordered it, and will soon be sent to all such. About 200 copies yet remain for the order of subscribers, or general sale.

☞If any small matters of business have been neglected this week—correspondents are respectfully informed that they will be attended to early in the next.

☞The foreign articles and news inserted are interesting.

THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT. Some who ought to know, have thrown it out that president Jackson will be too much indisposed to proceed on his eastern tour, as was intended—others, however, say, that he will start next week. The "New York Courier" gives it to be understood that the president will more probably retire to Tennessee, and prepare for resigning his office; but the "National Intelligencer" thinks that such a retirement "is about the last thing in gen. Jackson's mind"—adding, it is "more likely that he is looking forward to a re-election for a third time." The latest accounts say that the president will start on his journey about the first of next month.

The present, it seems probable, will be a great season for travel, unless we shall be revisited by the cholera, or some other alarming disease. The secretary of the navy is now on a tour, and the "Pennsylvanian" informs us that Mr. Secretary McLane and Mr. Secretary Cass will accompany the president, being joined at New York by the vice president; and that Mr. Secretary Woodbury having returned, he, with Mr. Duane, to be appointed secretary of the treasury, (in place of Mr. McL. who is to be transferred to the department of state), will remain at the seat of government, and have charge of the public affairs; for it is stated that the postmaster-general will make a tour through the west. It is added, that Mr. Clay will pay a visit to the eastern states, and reported that Mr. Webster will make a journey through the western.* Mr. Randolph is about to make another voyage to England—but, this time, at his own cost! Many other journies are assigned to other distinguished individuals, with what truth we know not; but it seems certain that we are to have a "travelling cabinet."

TIME AND SPACE. A project is started, and, we hope, will be consummated, of making a rail road from *Philadelphia* to *Baltimore*, by the way of *Oxford* and *Port Deposit*. The distance will only be one hundred and eighteen miles—the transportation of commodities exceedingly large, and the time of travel, for passengers and the mail, not more than *seven hours*, at the rate of going now established on the New Castle and Frenchtown rail road—without any transhipment of goods, or transfer of baggage—unless desired on the way. Such a road would make a vast change in the existing condition of things—and especially in the winter season; when passengers and the mails have to be dragged through the mud—hub-deep, in many places.

A large part of this contemplated road is really completed—45½ miles at the Philadelphia extremity; and the stock has been subscribed for a rail road from Baltimore to Port Deposit. The middle section, then, of between 30 and 40 miles, only, remains undetermined.

When this road shall be made, and that from Baltimore to Washington is completed, as it pretty soon will be—Philadelphia will be *nine hours distant* from the capital of the United States!

* Mr. Webster, with his lady and daughters, arrived at Albany on Monday last.

We see, also, that a project is going on to make a *continuous* rail road from Philadelphia to the west shore of the Hudson, opposite New York, via Trenton, New Brunswick, Rahway, Elizabeth Town, and Newark. We much desire that this may soon be accomplished—and it appears that it will be. The stock must be among the most profitable in the United States. It is stated that 600 persons, *even now*, daily pass between New York and Newark, over the toll-bridges, besides those carried in steamboats, and the transport of merchandise is equal to 82,445 tons a year! The stock of the turnpike road between these places is 800 dollars for 200 paid—that of the bridges, 150 for 100 paid. It seems that the unwise MONOPOLY, which was thought to have been granted to the Camden and Amboy rail road company, by the legislature of New Jersey, will not hold—for the new company has purchased an *old* turnpike road, and cannot be prevented from laying rails on the sides of it! This is pleasant. We would encourage *home competition;* aye, and might be reconciled even to *"free trade" with foreigners:* but not so far as to admit English tapes and bobbins, while England forbids payment for them in bread and meat!

With these roads made (and they *must* be made), New York will be *fifteen hours distant* from Washington.

The prophecy of *Oliver Evans* (made in the presence of the editor of the REGISTER, and in the house of his father), many years ago—is near its fulfilment. Oliver Evans said, that the "child was then born who would travel from Philadelphia to Boston in one day." Oliver allowed, then, 80 or 90 years—but it will be done in half the time. Already the journey between New York and Boston is being made in 17 hours 41 minutes, and the time on the rail road to be made between Philadelphia and New York (less than six hours), will perfect the prophecy—however it seemed to partake of *insanity* when first proclaimed.

BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAIL ROAD. Since the compromise with the Chesapeake and Ohio canal company, the prospects concerning this road are much brightened—and by the time when it shall reach Harper's Ferry, the Winchester rail road will be ready to join it—thus opening the rich valley of Virginia to the commerce of Baltimore, and placing the land-holders, as it were, close to a sea-port. Winchester will be only from nine to twelve *hours* distant from Baltimore; and less, when steam power is used—as it will be. The value of the lands in the valley will be increased by millions. Even its fine and fat cattle, instead of being wasted, or exhausted, by driving, will be carried to market on the rail road.

The Frederick Examiner states that a machine has been erected at the rail road depot in that city, which supersedes the necessity of unlading wagons. On Thursday, of last week, by its aid, the *body and contents* of a wagon, weighing, in all, about 5,600 lbs. were lifted from the running gear, and placed upon a rail road car, and sent to Baltimore.

SOUTH CAROLINA RAIL ROAD. We have pleasing accounts of the progress and prospects of this interesting improvement—and entertain no doubt that it will, when completed, "nullify" many *Jeremiads* in that state; and, perchance, teach some the importance of looking at home, and of relying on themselves, for prosperity. During the last month, $3,617 03 were received for the transportation of passengers and goods. It will soon reach the fertile upper country, and then will work—miracles, in public opinion, and teach men to put *their own* shoulders to the wheel. This is all that is wanting, even in "distressed" South Carolina. We should never have heard of the "oppressions of the tariff" had the *people* been willing to work—and to expend upon their *lands* the profits of their crops.

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Sixty-two miles of this road (to Branchville) were opened for public travelling on the 17th Nov. 1832, in less than two years from the commencement of the work, and on the 7th February last the road was opened to Midway, 72 miles. The entire line of the road seems to be only 136 miles, on which all the excavations, embankments, ditches, bridges, &c. have been made; and the whole distance (to Hamburg) will soon be opened for public use. The stock will be a very profitable one. It is expected to yield not less than 12 per cent.

"THE GROANS OF THE SOUTH." The St. Augustine Herald informs us that one planter in Florida made, with 15 hands, last season, 50 hogsheads of sugar, 7,000 gallons syrup and molasses, and 2,000 bushels of corn—realizing more than $600 to the hand in one year.

☞Let us see—here we have 50,000 lbs. of sugar, on which the present duty is 2½ cents, and 7,000 gallons of molasses at 5 cents—and the amount of *protection* on both is 1,600 dollars. And, as only 15 hands were employed, the "bounty" on each person, being made up of a "tax" on consumers, for the benefit of the only real "monopolists" in the United States—(if any there are), because of soil and climate, is 106 dollars and 67 cents per head—a sum considerably more than equal to the *whole average wages* paid to free agricultural laborers in the north—out of which they clothe themselves, paying all that "grievous tax" which is laid on imported commodities! And it must be observed, that these 15 persons, on the sugar estate, also raised 2,000 bushels of corn, or 133⅓ bushels for each—being three or four times the amount of their own consumption. This is more than equal to the cost of the food which is furnished by the farmers to those employed by them in the north.

We *may* see what will be the effect on the sugar cultivation when the "bounty" or "tax" shall be reduced to 20 *per cent. ad valorem;* or, on the quantities just given, about 350 dollars, instead of 1,600 dollars! Will that enable our sugar planters to withstand the competition of free labor in the East Indies, or of slave labor in Brazil, Cuba, and other places? Can they make sugar cheaper than the Jamaica planters? These last are protected by a duty of 2 cents and 4 mills per lb. less than is payable on East India sugar, though equally produced in a British possession!* And yet we know that the British West Indies, apart from all considerations of the slave question, have long been rapidly descending to poverty. The average product is, perhaps, less than two per cent. on capital vested in land and slaves. Is there no instruction in these facts?

Again—there are about 2,000,000 slaves in the United States. If we average them at 200 dollars a head, their aggregate value is 400 millions. The demand for slaves, for the cultivation of sugar in Louisiana and Florida, has a most important effect on the price of slaves, and may be estimated at 25 per cent. or 100 millions of dollars; and, *certainly*, that amount of PROPERTY would be lost to the holders of slaves, if the persons now employed in the cultivation of sugar were transferred to the cultivation of cotton. We are speaking of mere matters of dollars and cents—after the manner of the "chivalric and generous south." Of the *moral* effect to result from rendering it less profitable to *breed slaves*, we have nothing to say—at the present time; nor shall we calculate the consequences.

MORE "GROANS OF THE SOUTH!" The Richmond Whig gives the proceeds of an entire crop of tobacco, just sold at the Shockoe warehouse, the average of which was $12 16 per hundred pounds.

*The British duties on sugar are as follows:

Foreign, brown	£3	3	0	cwt. or	15.12	cents per lb.
——— white or clayed	4	6	8	"	20.8	do.
British East Indies	1	17	0	"	8	cents, nearly.
———West Indies	1	7	0	"	5.6	" "

The heavy duty laid upon British West India sugar is for *revenue*—but the *extra* 2.4 cents, assessed on British *East India* sugar, and the *extra ten cents per lb.* on foreign sugar, *are for the protection of the West India cultivators.* The *last*, we think, would be better protected by a duty of 7s. than of 27s. per cwt. because of the increased consumption which so reduced a duty would cause; and a considerable part of the reduced duty would go into the price received by the planters, foreign sugars being still excluded.

GLASS FACTORIES IN NEW YORK. The following has been transmitted to us as a complete list of the window glass factories in New York:

At Verona and Vernon, Oneida county—Ontario and Geneva, Ontario county—Woodstock, Ulster county—Hamilton, Albany county—Sand-Lake, Rensselaer county—Redford, ——, county—and Clyde, Wayne county. Total, nine.

At the Clyde factory there is annually consumed—40 tons pot ashes, 125 tons of sand, 40 tons house-ashes, 200 barrels of salt, and 2,500 cords of wood, &c. The capital is 25,000 dollars—30 men are employed, and 150 persons subsisted at these works; and the product is about 8,000 boxes of 7 by 9, annually, at $3 per box—or 24,000 dollars.

We have no particular information of the business and extent of the other establishments—but taking this as an average, the nine will produce the following results:

Annual consumption.

360 tons pot ashes
360 tons house ashes
1,125 tons of sand
1,800 barrels of salt
22,500 cords of wood.

Employed and subsisted.

270 workmen, and 1,350 persons subsisted.

Capital, &c.

Capital 225,000 dollars—annual product 216,000 dollars.

☞Fully two-thirds of the value annually created, passes *directly* to land-holders and agriculturists, for fuel and transportation, &c. and the subsistence of the workmen and their families; and these nine glass factories are more beneficial to the land-holders and farmers of New York, than is the whole trade with *Russia, Prussia,* and *Denmark* to the land-holders and farmers of the U. States; so far as the trade with these countries depends on their consumption of American products, according to the treasury tables of 1830—the latest that we happen to have before us.

THE COAL TRADE. At the beginning of the last week, 1,004 boats, laden with 41,701 tons of coal, had descended the Schuylkill, in the present season. Between 7,000 and 8,000 tons a week are now shipped. The price at Pottsville is $2@2 50—freights 1 25.

And up to the 1st of May, there had arrived at Honesdale, from Carbondale, 1,625 rail road wagons, with 40,621½ tons of coal—besides vast quantities of lumber. The Delaware and Hudson canal is doing a great business.

"A FACTORY GIRL." A letter from Newport, R. I. speaking of the calm and unruffled deportment of *Avery*, on his trial for the murder of a young woman, whom he is charged with having previously seduced—says:

"The same feeling which the deportment of the prisoner is calculated to produce, was evinced in the crowded audience yesterday, in the examination of a young lady, without its being repressed by any doubt as to its being fully deserved. I do not allude to it, as at all connected with the case, in point of testimony, but simply as one little green spot in that boasted profession, the law, which, after all, however noble it may be as a science, is, in the practice of the day, a mere art of preventing witnesses from telling the truth, and an exercise of the most ingenious deception upon the minds of plain, honest men, who are so unfortunate as to be caught upon a jury. Whoever most excels in these qualifications, is the best *mere* lawyer. In the case alluded to, however, there was an exactly opposite result. A young female (she would deserve any where the appellation of lady, both in appearance and deportment), was called upon, unavoidably, to testify to circumstances extremely unpleasant to a delicate female to detail in a public assembly. They had no relation to herself or to the prisoner.* The unaffected and lady-like manner in which this young female acquitted herself under circumstances so peculiarly trying as a public examination of this description, was exceedingly interesting. Polished society might find it not a little

*They related to the *delicate* situation of the murdered female.

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difficult to furnish a representative to discharge so painful a duty, with as much of the true dignity of modesty as was here evinced by a 'factory girl.' It was an honor to that valuable portion of our population thus to be represented, and would of itself repel the slander that there is necessarily in their employment any tendencies to blunt the sensibilities of females, or prevent a full cultivation of lady-like and delicate refinement. Even the overbearing sternness of the examining counsellors at the bar was laid aside from respect to female delicacy; and the rare phenomenon in legal practice was exhibited, of the mere *lawyer* (whose greatest merit is supposed to consist in browbeating and confusing witnesses, to prevent their telling the truth) being laid aside for the true courtesy of the gentleman—the politeness of the heart."

☞The people of the south, in general, have about as correct ideas of the general character and condition of the young women employed in the well-regulated factories of the north, as of the inhabitants of capt. Symmes' *inner world.* This is not much to be wondered at, in those who would be "shocked to death" with the mere apprehension of being called upon to labor—to receive money, in wages, for *work* performed! But a better and more correct class of persons are no where to be found. They are much superior, and in almost every respect, to the classes of society from whence they are drawn, and better educated; and their lives are as blameless—indeed, less liable to injurious suspicions, for very few *accidents* happen among them. And there is a good reason for this—each is made a guardian, as it were, of the honor of the establishment in which she labors—and a good reputation is every thing to these poor girls. There are villages at which several hundred young women have been employed, for years, with hardly a single impeachment of their chastity. *They are respectable and respected*—their dresses are not so costly as those of their sisters who are independent of manual labor for support—but not less neat, and tidy, and comfortable. And we have seen many of them that would have excited as much attention in the drawing room at the president's house, because of their beauty—as any who have appeared there; aye, and, we think, would have conducted themselves quite as well. But what a horrible thing would it be to introduce an honest and well-educated and lovely "factory girl," where "patches, paint and candle light" are so important, and "small talk" is only used, because the only sort-of-talk that is understood!

There is a wicked and foul disposition to debase the character of such young women, and simply because they make an honest living for themselves! But many a man has found to his sorrow, that a dashing belle *may* be a wife only fitted "to suckle fools," and unable even to "chronicle small beer," being no more than a *female animal*, with a range of intellect bounded by the fashion of a frock or a petticoat, and as if without a soul; a mere play-thing in prosperity, or a dead-weight in adversity; oftentimes regarded with indifference in the one case, and always despised in the other; in neither a *companion* for an intelligent and inquiring man.

We speak of the "factory girls" as we have seen them, and are entirely assured that they are. What they may be, under REDUCED WAGES and more *severe labor* than is now required of them, we shall be better able to say after 1842—if so long we live. Thousands on thousands of such are now among the most valued wives and best mothers in the land, offering their "jewels" to defend their country in the peril of war, or extend its prosperity in the works of peace;—to tread the mountain's top, dive into the bowels of the earth, or march upon the ocean—every where holding up the "starry flag" of the republic, and proclaiming liberty and independence. Cases of individual hardship have happened, and we would rather that female labor should find employment home, or in less dense masses than are oftentimes met with—but such females are not yet slaves; and those that are prudent and thrifty do not generally remain many years in the factories. Some accumulate little fortunes for themselves—a few hundred dollars to "begin the world with"—and the fact that they are honest and industrious, and careful, has no effect, in the north, to exclude them from society, or degrade them in the public estimation!

"MIGHTY FLOODS." Very little rain fell during the month which ended two or three weeks ago—but since then there has been a general rain, and a vast quantity of water has fallen, as the following brief notices will shew.

The *Connecticut* river had risen near twenty feet—and caused much damage; but we have not many particulars.

The *Hudson* and its chief tributary, the *Mohawk*, rose to an extraordinary height, doing great injury at Troy, Albany, and many other places, and several lives were lost by the breaking up of rafts, &c. and of persons engaged in attempts to preserve property. The rise of water is called "unparalleled." The lower part of Albany was completely inundated—the streets were impassable, except in boats or carriages, for some distance above the Eagle Hotel. One of the bridges across the Mohawk was carried away. The beautiful gardens on the islands in the Hudson, below Albany, were destroyed, and many fields on the main land overflowed. The loss of property was exceedingly heavy, on the 14th, 15th and 16th inst. It was apprehended that the canals had been seriously injured. We cannot give particulars. Such a flood, was not *expected* at this season of the year, and hence the injury was increased.

The waters of the *Delaware* reached an uncommon height on the 16th and 17th instant, and much damage was sustained.

The *Susquehannah* was 16 feet above low water mark at Harrisburg, on the 16th, and still rising. It was the greatest flood remembered by the oldest inhabitants—much higher than the extraordinary one that happened 16 years ago. The river was exceedingly violent and "wicked," as we have heard a person call it, and the rush of waters, at certain points, awful. We have not seen any statement of the damages sustained, but they have been large. It is expected that several of the canals have been injured. Some persons were drowned, in attempting to save lumber and other property.

The *Potomac* has been very full, and wafted a great quantity of produce, lumber, coal, &c. towards the market on the sea board; but we have not heard of much injury being done on the shores of this river.

The *Ohio* was 23 feet above low water at Wheeling, on the 18th inst. The flood in this river does not appear to have been of an *extraordinary* height, and no particular damage is stated.

What a vast amount of water must have descended in four or five days, which, after saturating the parched earth, hurled such torrents towards the sea! The mind can hardly grasp an idea of the quantity, though the fact is presented, that rivers, from a half a mile to a mile, or more, wide, had a volume twenty feet deeper than usual, hurried forward at the rate of ten, or more, miles an hour, at particular places.

The loss of life has been considerable. Many bridges, dams, mills and other buildings have been swept away, and immense quantities of lumber and saw-logs, &c. are lost. In a good many instances, stone buildings have been cleared to their foundations. The rivers and streams of Vermont have been as violent as others. The general amount of damages sustained is exceedingly large—and the range of the rain-flood unprecedented.

THE CHOLERA. The total number of deaths by this disease in Havanna, and its suburbs, from the 1st of March to the 13th April inclusive, is now given at only 6,831. On the 1st March 35; on the 13th April 22. Greatest number of deaths on the 22d March—78 white, 255 colored—333. This was not only the highest aggregate, but also the highest number of either class of persons.

A letter from Matanzas, dated April 24 says, that the cholera had nearly ceased at that place—but was ravaging the estates, some losing 40 or more slaves in 3 days. On others it is said that *all* had died.

The Paris papers have official returns of the mortality caused by the Asiatic cholera in France. From its commencement until the first of January, 1833, the whole number of patients was 229,534—of those who perished 94,666. It appeared in fifty of the departments; those of the south suffered much less than the northern; the western less than the eastern. The government expended nearly thirteen hundred thousand francs in providing food, medical aid and other necessaries, for the relief of the poor.

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A good many cases of cholera have lately happened at Vicksburg, Miss. and some at Nashville.

NATCHEZ. There has been a great excitement, and the largest meeting of the people ever had in this city, because of the finding of the bodies of several negroes, thrown into some of the gullies and slightly covered with earth; and the consequent spread of a report through the country that the *cholera* was killing the people so fast that the survivors had not time to bury them, &c. It appears that the bodies found were those of slaves, that had belonged to certain "negro traders"—who, to avoid the expense of interment, had thus disposed of their remains—at which the people were properly indignant, &c.

The "Natchez Courier" of the 25th April says—It is a known and indisputable fact, that the cholera has re-appeared in New Orleans, to what extent, having nothing before us from the authorities of that city, we are unable to determine; but we do know, that scarcely a boat arrives from that port, without more or less sick on board, with that disease. Among other passengers there had been, during the previous week, many negroes, some of whom have died of the cholera, perhaps eight or ten—but not a single case has originated here, nor has any one of our citizens been attacked, that we have been enabled to learn.

THE NEW TARIFF LAW. The following are the *modest* opinions of the Leeds [England] Mercury, concerning the new tariff law of the United States. Whenever the proceeding of a foreign government interferes with the interests of Englishmen, every genuine *John Bull* "opens only one eye," as our Indians say, to see the merits of the matter. The passage of this bill is called "a most arbitrary proceeding, *and, indeed, a gross breach of faith*"—because that the products of the woollen manufacturers of Leeds and Huddersfield may not be sent to the United States, at a duty of five per cent. Modest and liberal John Bull! "A breach of faith!" Between whom? Was Mr. Bull a *party* to the tariff act of 1832? Has he not, an hundred times, regulated his own tariff by simple orders in council, *concocted in secret, and put into operation at the chief ports, without a moment's warning to the parties interested?* Does not John assess an average duty of more than 100 per cent. on all the chief productions of the land and labor of the United States, cotton only excepted! But John grumbles because the duty on coarse woollens, reduced, by ourselves, in a spirit of compromise—have, in the same spirit, and to please ourselves, been temporarily raised to the duty which is payable on other woollen cloths! and notwithstanding a greater advantage has been given him in stuff goods, linens and silks! "A BREACH OF FAITH," John!—a breach of faith between the United States of America, and the log-wood dyers of cloth, made out of old clothes, at Leeds, which, like Peter Pindar's razors, are sent out "*to sell*," in America. O rare and modest, John Bull. We pray thee—open *both* eyes, John. Look at home, John. Reform thyself. *Do* "free trade," and then we'll *talk* with thee about it, Father John!

From the Leeds Mercury.

Mr. Clay's tariff bill has been smuggled through the American house of representatives, by one of those original and startling manœuvres which distinguish that republican legislature. The house had been all the session discussing the tariff bill introduced by Mr. Verplanck, which went to make great reductions on imported goods; the manufacturing party struggled hard against it, and the southerns as hard in its favor: the bill had reached its third reading, when—lo! some member moved, "as an amendment," to leave out all the words after "that," and substitute for them the tariff bill which Mr. Clay had carried in the senate! The motion was carried by a vote of 120 to 85; and by this most extraordinary piece of jockeyship, Mr. Clay's bill passed in one day.

We regret to say, that this bill is not only much worse than that of Mr. Verplanck, but is decidedly less liberal than that of last July. The tariff of July, 1832, was to have come into operation on the 3d of March, but if Mr. Clay's bill should finally pass the senate, to which house it has been returned, that tariff will never take effect at all, except as modified by the new bill.

By the tariff of last year the lowest qualities of woollen goods were allowed to be introduced at a duty of *five* per cent. *ad valorem*, and great quantities of goods have gone out from the neighborhood of Leeds and Huddersfield on the faith of that arrangement; but Mr. Clay's bill raises the duty on these goods to *fifty* per cent. and every yard of the low woollens sent from England must either pay that duty or be sent back to this country! This is a most arbitrary proceeding, and is indeed a gross breach of faith.

The other arrangements of Mr. Clay's bill are to let the duties fixed by the tariff of last July remain in operation till the 31st of December next, after which they are to be reduced by driblets—one tenth of the excess of those duties over 20 per cent. *ad valorem* to be taken off at the end of the year 1833, another tenth, at the end of 1835, another tenth in 1837, another tenth in 1839, in 1481 one half of the remainder, and at the end of 1842 the duties are to be reduced to 20 per cent. at which they are to continue.

Our Bradford and Keighley friends are almost the only persons in England whom this tariff will benefit, as worsted stuff goods, which have hitherto paid 25 per cent. duty, are to be admitted duty free. Linens and silks are also to be admitted duty free, which will be an advantage to Barnsley and Manchester.

BRITISH "FREE TRADE." The Newcastle (Eng.) Chronicle, speaking of the timber trade, says—Within the last few days, several vessels have been taken up here to go to Memel to take in a cargo of timber, from thence proceed to Canada, where the cargo will be delivered, and immediately reshipped and brought to this port as American [Canadian] timber! What an absurd state of law it must be that can render such a system profitable, and yet what an outcry was raised against the ministers when they attempted to alter it!

TEAS. It would appear (says the Boston Centinel) that, in the article of teas, as in some other articles, we were in danger of losing the benefit of our own reduction or abolition of duties, by the incidental increase of price by the producers. The Hong merchants of Canton, hearing of our new tariff, naturally calculated on an increased consumption and demand for the principal ingredient of our afternoon beverage, and are said to have endeavored to get more profit themselves, by our expected augmented indulgence in the herbs of the east.

THE MARKETS. On Wednesday last, green peas were selling in the New York market at 50 cents per peck, and strawberries at 150 cents per quart. On the same day, green peas, at Baltimore 18¾@25 cents per peck, and strawberries 6¼@12½ cents per quart. It is probable that peas will be sold at 25 cents the bushel, this day, in Baltimore—May 26—and a plenty of fine strawberries at 6¼ cents per quart.

THE PROTESTED DRAFT. The Pennsylvanian says—that the United States bank has presented the protested draft, amounting to nearly a million of dollars, to the United States government, with a claim for damages at the rate of fifteen per cent. By the late arrivals at New York, the original draft and protest have been returned to the bank, and the directory of that institution has sent in its bill of damages to the treasury department.

[We have heard that the bank proposed to *collect* the draft—but that the government would *sell* it, and the bank became the purchaser. In this case, the affair is a mere business transaction, and the bank ought to claim of the United States what would be claimed of an individual, in a similar matter: and yet *mirabile dictu!*—half a thousand columns of "indignation" are *being manufactured* on this account, for the "by authority" presses. The *making* of such a draft, we rather apprehend, has few precedents, if any—and, surely, the *sale* of it was not called for, unless because of some imperious demands on the treasury, with which we are unacquainted. But if the government *trades* in drafts, the *lex mercatoria* is just as applicable as it would be to a private individual—and the fuss made about it is childish, or—base.

MR. RANDOLPH AND THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES. *From the Richmond Whig.*—John Randolph, of Roanoke, for some days, (and we believe still), in this city, is understood to have declared himself distinctly and decidedly in favor of renewing the charter of the present bank of the United States. We learn that his course of argument is somewhat this: that his opinion of its unconstitutionality has not changed, but that he views that question as withdrawn, and the country brought to the alternatives of choosing between the present institution and one of more extensive powers and capital, to be established for the *special benefit of Mr. Van Buren.* Mr. Randolph

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believes that the southern people only are influenced by constitutional scruples in their opposition to the new charter; that if the present institution is overthrown, another of more doubtful utility, and of enlarged capacities, will be immediately erected in its stead, and brought under the control of the executive for electioneering purposes; and he prefers an institution which he knows, and which has proved useful and independent, to another untried, and which may fall under government influence, and enlarge the already dangerous extent of executive power.*

☞Mr. Randolph arrived in Baltimore on Sunday last, and on the next day proceeded to Philadelphia.

The "American," noticing the arrival of Mr. Randolph in this city, gave the following account of it. Mr. R. is said to have been "much offended," because of the crowd—but the singularity of his equipage and proceedings, were legitimate causes for that curiosity which his presence excited. Many wished to see what sort of an animal it was within the vehicle—which, as one who saw it said, looked as though it might have been digged out of the ruins of an old coach house which had "flourished before the revolution." If "Roanoke" will not do things like other people, he cannot expect that the people will treat him as they would another man. And after all, Mr. R. would, perhaps, have been sorely mortified if his arrival had not created any sensation, though only of the "groundlings," let loose on a Sunday evening. Erostratus burnt the temple of Ephesus, for fame—others seek and obtain it by other means.

From the American. The hon. John Randolph reached this city on Sunday afternoon from Washington, and proceeded to Philadelphia yesterday morning. He travelled in his old fashioned English coach and four; with a postillion on one of the leading horses, and Juba on the box. We learn that his passage through Pratt street to the city hotel was the occasion of some little inconvenience and irritation to him. His remarkable equipage came leisurely along that street just about the time of the arrival of the steamboat Kentucky, and thus attracted the attention of the crowd of persons who were in waiting to witness her arrival, as well as the hundreds who had just landed from her, at the intersection of Light and Pratt streets. It was soon generally understood that Mr. R. was in the coach, and curiosity, on the part of some, and the force of the example on others, immediately induced numbers of the spectators to follow him. By the time he reached the hotel, we learn that the crowd was so dense in front of it that his entrance at the principal door was impossible; at length the equipage proceeded to the private door on Fayette street, and he was conveyed from the coach into the hotel in the arms of Juba. Mr. R's appearance is said to indicate an extremely delicate state of health.

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* The "Richmond Enquirer" thus notices the preceding—

"A report has been sedulously got up for some weeks, that the bank of the United States would be certainly rechartered—perhaps with some modifications. An attempt has been made to reconcile to the public this arrangement, by this sort of argument—that we are to choose between a treasury bank and the present bank of the United States! Indeed, this idea has been carried so far, that a member elect to the next congress, who was supposed to be as violent an opponent of the bank of the United States as any man breathing, has lately declared in this city, that he would probably go for *the* bank, not *a* bank—for the present institution with some modifications, rather than take, what he is pleased to term, *a New York Van Buren bank!* The design of the bank friends seems to be, to drive us into one net by the panic fear of getting into another."

And adds—"The voice of Virginia is against this institution—loud, distinct, unchangeable. It is against the New York scheme, if any such should be entertained—and we are much mistaken, if it be not also against the treasury substitute, if any such should be brought forward. True—Mr. Calhoun and a few of his friends in congress, may be in favor of the bank—but *he* has always been its friend. He was one of its fathers—and notwithstanding his present new-fangled doctrines of state-rights, he will be found its advocate at the next congress! But the mass of the south will be strongly opposed to it—let the bank of the United States be assured of it. For our own parts, we would rather see the government sustain a grievous inconvenience, from the want of such an institution; we would rather see it pay 10, 15, 20 per cent. more for transmitting its funds from place to place, than violate by such an institution, the federal constitution." [*O dear*—Obsta Principiis!]

United States bank stock. We have the pleasure to say that the *honest* gentlemen-brokers of New York, are still *being* punished. In spite of all sorts of *fabrications*, the stock rises; and on the 22d was at 114½—and fearfully expected to go still higher.

Massachusetts. *The ladies' fair*, at Boston, for the benefit of the blind, produced near twelve thousand dollars; and a similar fair, for the same kind purpose (previously held), yielded the large sum of three thousand dollars, in the comparatively small town of Salem, which had already contributed six hundred dollars.

The Boston Transcript says—We are pleased to learn that something is at last to be done, and with energy, to ensure the immediate completion of the Bunker Hill monument. A gentleman of this city has addressed a letter to the government of the Massachusetts mechanic association, offering a donation of $5,000, on condition that $50,000 shall be raised by subscription within three months, for the purpose above specified. A meeting of the association was held last evening, and from the spirit manifested by the members, there is not, we are informed, the slightest doubt that the work will go on and be finished forthwith.

The estate, corner of Tremont and Beacon streets, well known as the Eliot estate, measuring 184 feet 8 inches on Beacon and 65 on Tremont street, backing on Philips' place, containing 10,954 feet, was lately sold at $[illegible] per foot. The right to one-seventh part of Philips' place, so called, being all the interest and estate of the heirs of the late Wm. H. Eliot therein, subject to the rights of light, air and drainage belonging, to the mansion house estate above described, at $450.

We understand that a company of gentlemen have purchased the White estate, so called in Roxbury, for $26,000, for the purpose of erecting thereon a number of elegant cottages. This estate has long been known as one of the most beautiful garden spots in this vicinity. [*Advocate.*

Professional men. According to Williams' Annual Register, for 1833, just published, the number of members of the professions of divinity, law, and physic, in the state of New York, is as follows:

Attorneys and counsellors at law,	1,956
Physicians and surgeons,	2,580
Clergy, viz:	
Presbyterians and Congregationalists,	502
Baptists,	448
Methodists,	401
Episcopalians,	163
Reformed Dutch,	106
Associate Reformed,	29
Lutherans,	14
Other denominations,	78
Total,	1,741

Pennsylvania. It is estimated that, since the opening of canal navigation this spring, Easton has sent to market about 100,000 barrels of flour, 70,000 bushels of corn, 8,000 barrels of whiskey, and 5,000 barrels of linseed oil, besides large quantities of other productions, among which was a considerable quantity of roofing slate, a large quarry of that article having been worked for some time in that neighborhood.

It is also said of this flourishing town, that upwards of fifty buildings, chiefly brick, will be erected there this season, and a large edifice, for the Lafayette college, 112 feet front, will be commenced. In addition to the merchandise and produce of the neighborhood, which we have noticed above as coming from Easton, we may add that, in the last week, 64 Mauch Chunk boats, loaded with 3,147 tons of Lehigh coal, entered the canal, and contributed towards the $1,648 received during the week.

Maryland. James H. Alexander, esq. civil engineer, and professor Ducatel, of the university of Maryland, have been appointed by the governor and council, to collect and prepare the materials for a geographical and topographical chart of the state, and a geological survey thereof. Philip P. Tyson, esq. will assist in the latter. These interesting matters are committed to gentlemen

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happily fitted to execute them in the most satisfactory manner.

Baltimore. We have more than once mentioned, an addition to this city which is now being made, by the improvement of a property called "Canton," which lies on our river, south of Fell's Point, and has a fine depth of water along its front. The company having expended a large sum of money in levelling, filling up, and opening the property, and built a long line of wharves, &c. &c. on Saturday last offered 200 of their lots for sale, all which were disposed of. These lots are generally 20 by 60 feet, and varied from one hundred to five hundred dollars, according to location. The whole product of the sale exceeded 30,000 dollars.

Buildings will be immediately commenced on many of these lots, and we may soon expect to see a new town rising up. It is intended that the rail roads shall be extended to Canton, and the time is not distant, we think, when a lively and large business will be carried on there. The whole tract is said to abound with good water.

Cumberland sufferers. The following is a return of the monies collected in the several wards of the city of Baltimore, for the relief of the sufferers by the late fire at Cumberland:

1st ward	$151 62
2d do	129 25
3d do	138 93
4th do	171 16
5th do	216 75
6th do	1,014 27
7th do	1,714 12
8th do	150 37
9th do	986 50
10th do	360 88
11th do	683 48
12th do	143 95
Total	$5856 28

In addition, one gentleman of the 6th and another of the 7th wards had, individually, forwarded 150 dollars each: making the whole sum $6,156 28.

The 7th, 6th and 9th wards are always the heaviest contributors on occasions of this sort. They are compact, and the chief seats of business; and many, resident in other wards, have their places of business in these, and so swell the amounts obtained in them.

Virginia. The Winchester Republican says—We have received a printed catalogue of the officers and students of the university, for the present session. It gives us great pleasure to see that the number of students who have matriculated during the term exceeds that of any other session, except the second: In 1825, the whole amount of matriculates was 123; 1826, 177; 1827, 128; 1827-'28, 131; 1828-'29, 130; 1829-'30, 133; 1830-'31, 133; 1831-'32, 140; 1832-'33, 157.

The total estimate of expenses for the session of ten months, exclusive of books and stationary, clothing and pocket money, is $23.

We understand that a fine spirit of order and industry now pervades the institution—and that the students are actively engaged in preparing for the examination in July.

We learn with regret that the university of Virginia is about to lose the services of Dr. *Robley Dunglison*, he having accepted the chair of materia medica, therapeutics, hygiene, and medical jurisprudence, in the university of Maryland.

Mississippi. A new and flourishing town of fifty houses, called Amsterdam, has jumped up on the Big Black river, about 100 miles above its junction with the Mississippi, in the last 12 months. It is in the heart of a rich cotton-growing country, and steamboats easily ascend to it.

Florida. The return of votes, though not official, shew that col. *White* has been re-elected the delegate from this territory to the congress of the United States, over gen. *Call*, after a most arduous and very violent campaign.

Emigration to Michigan. The Detroit Courier mentions the arrival at that place, of seven steamboats, from Buffalo, from the 1st to the 7th inst. with 2,610 passengers.

We are told that the steamboats at Buffalo oftentimes depart previous to the time appointed, to avoid the pressure of persons wishing to take passage in them.

Texas. By the brig Fredericksburg, arrived at New York from Matamoras, we learn, (says the Courier), that a vessel of war from Vera Cruz, arrived at that place a few days previous to her sailing, with troops, who, with others assembled at that place, amounting altogether to about 350 men, were to march in a short time to Texas for the purpose of driving the American emigrants from that place.

[Texas has been considered as a sort of neutral, or middle ground, for the congregation of all sorts of adventurers, making laws for themselves, in fact, though pretending to respect those of Mexico. The 350 troops above mentioned were to be joined by 1,200 others, and eight pieces of artillery; and the prevailing anarchy will probably be put down, very promptly.]

Late treaty with Denmark. The Washington Globe contains a list shewing the result of every claim presented to the board of commissioners under the late treaty with Denmark. The full amount awarded in all the cases is $2,154,425. The sum actually payable is $670,564 78.

Impudent villains. The progress of crime in the United States is appalling. The *exports* from Europe of murderers, robbers, gamblers, thieves and pick-pockets, &c. with thousands of paupers, are "free" enough, indeed!' Strong measures must be adopted to prevent their various depredations and impositions on society. The punishment of those convicted should be sure, and the full penalty of the law certain, without the hope of executive pardons. Let the penitentiaries be enlarged, if necessary—and *second* offences close their doors against the egress of persons condemned for any crime resulting from manifest perversions of the heart—while the unfortunate should be more tenderly dealt with, and encouraged to reform themselves. But so it is, that the meshes of the law are too often broken through by "rogues of distinction," who are *artists* in villainy.

One of the editors of the Boston Centinel was lately assaulted in the street, after nightfall, by some ruffian, supposed to be a gambler, the editor alluded to having aided in the exposure of a den of villains of that character. Since the assault he has received the following anonymous note through the post office:

Boston, May 5, 1833.

Sir: The personal chastisement inflicted on you on Monday night, must convince you that justice, though slow, is sure. You have received an anonymous hint that for a certain paragraph that appeared in your paper some time back, (the object of which was to call the public attention to a certain house in this city), you should not go unpunished.

If you are wise, institute no inquiries into this affair, but let it blow over, lest a greater evil befal you, the *loss of life;* for if that be extinguished, there is no promethean heat that can that light relume. I have given your brother editor of the Galaxy, a much broader preliminary hint than I have ever gave you, and I am inclined to think this affair of yours will convince him, there is something more in them than meets the eye or flesh in these corporeal chastisements and written hints.

If either of you are not silent now on a subject which does not concern you, which is connected with the morals of the city, you shall both hear in a more summary and decisive manner from ABELLINO.

Law case. *State of Delaware versus John Porter*, jun. A very extraordinary trial under the above title is recorded in a Wilmington paper of the 14th instant. An indictment was found by the grand jury against John Porter, jr. for committing *mayhem* by emasculating a

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young lad of sixteen. It is the second offence of the kind in the United States—the former instance having been that of Potter, in North Carolina. The young lad gave a pitiful account of the manner in which he was waylaid and assaulted by the defendant—and his testimony was so direct and conclusive that the counsel for the prosecution made no remarks to the jury. The account concludes—

Chief justice Clayton briefly charged the jury to the effect—that the fact, the crime had been committed was notorious, and undisputed—that the question with the jury was, which testimony should be believed—that the prisoner had attempted to prove sickness and an *alibi*—that, on the countrary, the attorney general had produced witnesses invalidating this testimony—and it was for the jury to say, which should be credited—in short whether the prisoner was the individual who committed the deed.

The jury after a few minutes returned with a verdict of *guilty*.

The prisoner was then arraigned before the court to receive his sentence. He arose apparently much agitated—is of a dark complexion, black eyes—of a youthful appearance, no beard—with a general physiognomy entirely against him. His head apparently is broad between the ears, which phrenologists say is a development of the organ of destructiveness.

The chief justice, in a feeling and impressive manner, pronounced his sentence to be a fine of $2,000 to the state, and one year's imprisonment. The legislature of this state has since [this outrage] passed an act, making this crime capital, and punishable with death.

BRIEF NOTICES.

The salary of the British ambassador at Paris is £10,000, say 50,000 dollars a year—of his secretary £1,000, or 5,000 dollars, and he has an *attache* at £400, or 2,000 dollars.

The New Bedford Mercury of the 28th ult. says—A *launch*, if launch it can be called, of rather a novel character, took place at a wharf in this place on Saturday afternoon—a vessel of about 300 tons, which had been thrown bottom upwards to be repaired, having been planked and finished in the lower part of the hull, which is under water when afloat, was attempted to be put into her destined element, by rolling over; but the plan was not fully executed. There was a great collection of people to witness the novel scene. The bottom of the vessel has been made almost new with timber as well as plank. During the night, another effort was made, which was successful.

We did not recollect that *Virginia* ever was a land of *witches*; but the Charlestown Free Press informs us that at the last meeting of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical society in Richmond, among other curious documents read, was "an authentic record, certified by the clerk of Princess Anne county, of the trial of a female in 1705, for *witchcraft*." The records of the early settlement of the Old Dominion, if they could be snatched from oblivion, would doubtless afford as many amusing specimens of popular superstition, as the extant histories of our New England brethren supply, for the amusement and edification of the descendants of the pilgrims. It may not be amiss to suggest, whether it would not advance the purposes of the Virginia Historical society, and contribute to the gratification of the public, if they would publish, in some suitable form, the various interesting facts, of which from time to time they become possessed?

The two hundred tons of *ice* lately exported from Boston for *Calcutta*, was surrounded with *tan*. If it shall arrive safely—a grand voyage will be made. It is a "Yankee notion"—and "chivalric" in trade.

The Lexington, (Ky.) Gazette notices the exhibition, in that place, of Miss Snyder, a young lady, about nineteen years of age, who is regarded as one of the greatest natural curiosities ever seen. The lady has neither hands nor arms, nor is there to be seen the least appearance of an arm! She has one leg and foot complete, with the exception of the toes being only *four* instead of five. The other leg has but one joint, (that of the ankle), and it is only but half the length of the first; the foot having on it, (like the other), only four toes. She is three feet one inch high, weighing 60 lbs. is in the possession of all her mental faculties, converses very fluently on any subject, and is very fond of engaging in conversation with her visiters. She sows, knits, paints, cuts a variety of flowers, watch papers, &c. and writes tolerably well with her left foot.

We notice the publication of a new weekly journal at Thomastown, Georgia, under the title of "*The Hickory Nut, and Upson Vigil*," with the motto "Crack it who may, it will be discovered to be sound to the kernel."

Goods were recently received at Cincinnati in *fifteen* days from the city of New York, by way of the Erie canal, the lake, and the Ohio canal and river.

It is stated that Mr. *Clay* purposes to pass through New England in the month of July next.

Benjamin S. Seaborn has been tried and found guilty of setting fire to the city of Raleigh.

The lands at Carrollton, belonging to the New Orleans canal and banking company, which cost the company $92,000, were sold on 1st of May for $250,000, leaving a profit to the bank of $148,000.

As two persons were lately ploughing a field on the south side of the island of Martha's Vineyard, they turned up a considerable quantity of silver coin, which seemed to have been tied up in a bag. The amount is said to have been from two to three thousand dollars.

Capt. Joseph C. Hall, of the marine corps, died suddenly on the 17th inst. on board the ship Franklin, lying at the navy yard, New York. He was much esteemed as an officer and man; and his remains were interred with the highest marks of respect.

We see in a Virginia paper a renewal of the old practice of noticing marriages—a certain Mr. B. has been joined to "the beautiful and much admired Miss F. A. C." and then follow three stanzas, about "heaven" and "even," "one" and "done," and "'mong the few" who "lov'd so true."

Certain convicts in the state prison of Connecticut, lately murdered one of the keepers that they might make an escape; but they failed, and three have been tried, found guilty and sentenced to death.

The Boston Atlas says:—"The works upon the dry dock at the navy yard in Charlestown, have been brought to a close. "Old Ironsides" is to be taken into it next week.

This dock is a splendid monument of the present state of the arts.

FOREIGN NEWS.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

A London paper of April 6, says—The directors of the bank of England held a meeting in the bank parlor this afternoon, at which the governor and deputy governor reported the minutes of the conference between them and lord Althorp, held a few days since. The precise tenor of the intentions of government with regard to the renewal of the charter, have not yet transpired, but we are assured that ministers have stated it as their intention to propose to parliament that the sum of £100,000 per annum shall be deducted from the sum paid to the bank of England for the management of the public debt, and that with this reduction in the amount paid to the company, and some changes of minor importance, the charter is to be renewed for a limited number of years.

In commenting upon the advices that had been received from this country, of the pacific settlement of the nullification question, the London papers say—

"On the whole, the conduct of general Jackson, in the trying situation in which he was placed with regard to South Carolina, was much applauded. The inaugural address of the president, delivered to the house of representatives on the 4th of March, and now before us, is a document written with great talent, but, like that which was published a short time since, in reference to the course to be pursued by the executive towards the nullifiers, is drawn up, not by the president himself, but by an individual who has been at his elbow ever since general Jackson filled the highest situation in the republic. This is well known in the United States."

Dublin, April 2. The "Volunteers" will hold their weekly meeting to-day. It will probably be the last, as the gagging bill (one of the names by which the Irish disturbance bill is designated here) is expected in Dublin before the close of the week. I think it likely, however, that the "Volunteers" will adjourn till Saturday, and, if their meeting should not be prohibited on that day, that they will adjourn till next Tuesday. It is the universal impression here that the lord lieutenant, after receiving the bill, will forthwith exercise the powers confided to him, by issuing a proclamation prohibiting any future meetings of the Conservatives, as well as the Volunteers. The motion which stands for discussion at the latter this day, is the following, which is to be brought forward by Mr. Barrett:

"That it is the opinion of the Volunteers that the Irish members should remain at their posts, in order to do as much good as possible to the English and Scotch people; and that they are also of opinion that every member should, on every question not incompatible with principle, oppose a ministry which has violated the nation, and risked the connexion between the two countries."

This resolution will, no doubt, be adopted by the volunteers.

On Saturday night, or early on Sunday morning, an armed party of Whitefeet attacked the house of Thomas Cross, a respectable farmer, living at Ballynafa, near Prosperous, demanded his arms, and, on being refused, fired into the house; Cross returned the fire, and shot a young man named Philip Geraghty, who was carried off by his party, and brought to his father's house at Millerstown, near Robertstown, and *thrown on a dunghill, though yet alive*, where he was found at day-light, by his mother, who went out to turn a horse out of her yard. He was brought into the house, where he died in about an hour and a half. The distance from Cross's house to Geraghty's, the way he was brought, is five miles; he was traced by his blood by the party of police from Prosperous. Cross had but one man in his house, named Alcock, who refused to assist his master.

[*Dublin Evening Packet.*

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Yesterday evening a party of the Duleek police were patroling on the road bordering the demesne when they fell in with three men whom they called upon to stand; two of them submitted, but the third fled pursued by one of the constables, who fired with the view of intimidating the fellow, when he turned round and shot his pursuer through the body, which caused instant death. The murderer escaped, but the others are in custody; they are identified as having committed a robbery at Snugborough, about an hour before. [*Drogheda Journal.*

TURKEY AND EGYPT.

By an arrival at Baltimore, we have news from Smyrna to the 7th April, which says—"The authority of the Turkish government, which, it will be recollected, was for a short time suspended in consequence of the presence of an Egyptian armed force, was now regularly maintained at Smyrna; and peace between the porte and the pacha of Egypt was confidently looked for, through the intervention of the allied powers. This opinion is corroborated by the following extracts of letters from the best informed sources:

Smyrna, April 6. "We are waiting with great anxiety for further advices from Constantinople. Peace must be near at hand—at least every thing concurs in inducing this belief."

Extract of another letter, same date. "Our last advices from Constantinople, to 30th ult. give hope that the great exertions making by the ambassadors there will very soon result in a peace. When this desirable event takes place, we shall no doubt have a very animated business here."

☞The latest report at Smyrna was that "the Russians had entered Constantinople." [These are the most recent accounts from that quarter.]

LATEST NEWS.

From London papers to the 11th April.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

The "Whitefeet" continue their depredations. Mr. O'Connell denounces them as "atrocious"—the "vilest of the vile," "villainous miscreants"—deserving "the execration of every good or honest man," &c. It is very certain that the enormities of these wretches, have not only caused the passage of the "Algerine bill," as O'Connell calls it, but rendered it necessary that it should be put into force. Mr. O'C. has resolved to issue weekly letters to the people of Ireland, and the first has appeared. It is long, and we cannot give it at present. His main exhortations are to "agitate" the country, by discussing all questions relating to its interests—but to respect the laws, and put down the "Whitefeet." It is a very earnest and spirited address.

The court martial, under the Irish disturbance bill, has been organized at Dublin; and a considerable military force was about to proceed to Kilkenny.

Some of the London papers say, that lord Grey's ministry was on the wane. There is much speculation as to what will be done about the bank and the East India company.

Dennis Collins, the old pensioner, who threw a stone at the king, is ordered to be transported for life.

A new ship of 120 guns, the largest in the British navy and called the Royal William, has been launched at Pembroke.

The cholera has broken out on board a convict ship at the Motherbank.

The cotton and iron trades were brisk in England, and the woollen was doing well.

Dublin, Sunday, April 7. The following proclamation extending the provisions of the bill to the county and city of Kilkenny, appeared in the Dublin Gazette. It is stated that a proclamation will appear early in the present week, prohibiting the meetings of the Volunteers, the Conservatives, and the Trades' Union:

By the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland.

A PROCLAMATION.

Anglesey—Whereas, by an act passed in the third year of his present majesty's reign, entitled "an act for the more effectual suppression of local disturbance and dangerous associations in Ireland," it is amongst other things enacted that it shall and may be lawful for the lord lieutenant and other chief governor or governors of Ireland, with the advice of his majesty's privy council in Ireland, at any time after the passing of the said act, and from time to time during the continuance thereof, as occasion may require, to issue his or their proclamation, declaring any county, county of a city, or county of a town in Ireland, or any portion thereof, respectively, to be in such a state of disturbance and insubordination as to require the application of the provisions of the said act.

Now, we, the lord lieutenant, do, by this our proclamation, in pursuance and execution of the said act, and by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council in Ireland, declare the county of Kilkenny, the county of the city of Kilkenny, the city of Kilkenny, and the liberties of the said city, to be in such a state of disturbance and insubordination as to require the application of the provisions of the said act.

And we do by this our proclamation, warn the inhabitants of the said county of Kilkenny, the city of the county of Kilkenny, the city of Kilkenny, and the liberties of the said city, to abstain from all seditious and other unlawful assemblages, processions, confederacies, meetings, and associations, and to be and remain in their respective habitations at all hours between sunset and sunrise, from and after Wednesday the tenth day of April instant, of which all justices of the peace of the said county, and county of a city, constables, peace officers, and other whom it may concern, are to take notice.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, this 6th day of April, 1833. ROSSE. WM. M'MAHON, WM. SAURIN, JOHN RADCLIFFE, JOHN DOHERTY, F. BLACKBURNE, R. H. VIVIAN.

"God save the king."

FRANCE, &c.

Nothing of general interest appears to have happened in France, Belgium or Holland. Letters from Sicily, once the "granary of the world," say that an awful famine prevails—chiefly because that heavy rains had prevented the sowing of the crops. The plains have long been covered with water. The cities and towns are crowded by persons from the country, seeking food and employment.

PORTUGAL.

The affairs of Don Pedro seem much brightened. It appears that he has obtained a considerable supply of money—that he had 22,000 well disciplined troops, 7,000 of whom are French and 5,000 British. The differences with admiral Sartorius had been adjusted; and the opinion now is, that Pedro will succeed in his enterprise.

Don Carlos, of Spain, and the princess Beira, had arrived at Lisbon.

SPAIN.

The latest intelligence from the capital of this country is to the 1st ultimo, and principally leads to the distractions that prevail in the councils of the king. The weakness and oscillation of the king's mind are becoming daily more evident, and the forthcoming events in a country swayed by such a government, despotic in its power, and influenced moreover by a degrading subserviency to a bigotted priesthood, it is impossible to foresee.

TURKEY AND EGYPT.

We have long reports about the negotiations which have been attempted, and many long and learned speculations on coming events; but it is manifest that nothing of a decisive character has yet been done, to restore peace between the sultan and the pacha; and that the former must sink before the power of the latter, unless supported by foreign *arguments* or ARMS. It seems also certain that a Russian force was advancing, and that the Russian fleet will not, at present, leave the Bosphorus. Things were quiet at Constantinople, but the sultan had no reliance on the few troops that were collected there—only 15,000 men. Some suppose that a general war may grow out of the affairs of Turkey and Egypt. All the great powers of Europe are armed—and ready for fight. [The latest accounts from Turkey, are by the arrival at Baltimore, noticed above.]

GERMANY.

There was a great riot at Frankfort. A large body of young men in the dress of students, attacked the guard house, in the night, and the contest between the people and the soldiers lasted till morning. The soldiers prevailed—but a good many were killed or wounded, and the students sustained a severe loss. It is added that similar riots, or insurrections, had happened at Cassel, Wurtzburg, &c. and that *Austrian* troops were advancing for "the preservation of order," and to rivet the chains of slavery on the people—for these riots took place because of the systematic proceedings of the Germanic diet to put down liberal opinions, and silence free discussions. The king of Wirtemburg has issued a manifesto dissolving the general assembly of his states, and ordering a new election. The turbulent spirit of the former body is assigned as the reason of this proceeding. The prince of Hesse Cassel has also issued a manifesto, conceived in still stronger terms;—asserting that a majority of the chamber had, from the very commencement of the session, assumed an attitude hostile to the government.

The armed force of the German despots, we apprehend, is too strong to allow a hope for the freedom of the people. The first is a perfectly organized machine, which destroys at command, and does not reason. It is like one of the old engines of the "holy inquisition." It embraces and murders—"by the grace of God!"

BRITISH TAX ON COTTON.

From the Manchester (Eng.) Guardian.

The tax on cotton. The directors of the Manchester chamber of commerce have just forwarded to the lords of the treasury a memorial praying strongly for the repeal of the heavy and impolitic duty on the importation of raw cotton. This document states that the consumption of this staple in the factories of the United States of America now extends to 77,516,316 lbs. *being as much as the whole consumption of Great Britain amounted to, less than twenty years ago; and that the competition of the American manufacturers already materially interferes with the interests of British merchants, in the markets of Mexico, the Brazils, and even in those of the Mediterranean.* The memorialists add that France also now produces yarn annually to the weight of 63,000,000 lbs. and that the value of her export of cotton goods for one of the last years amounted to no less than £2,192,940 sterling; also that Switzerland produces 19,000,000 lbs. of yarn, and has almost ceased to purchase from Great Britain any numbers below 50*s*. They further state that the cotton manufacture is increasing in Prussia, the Rhenish provinces, Lombardy, Austria and Saxony; that in all these countries the wages of labor are decidedly lower than in England; and that the repeal of our import duty is absolutely necessary to check their growing competition, and diminish the temptation to invest capital in the erection of factories on the continent, which capital, if the present system be continued, may it is much feared, be supplied in part at least by Englishmen. As to the impolicy of subject-

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ing to a heavy tax the raw material of by far the most important of our manufactures, the memorialists observe that they consider it needless to say much, that impolicy having, at the time of the recent augmentation of the tax, been frankly and fully admitted, both by the noble chancellor of the exchequer, and the right honorable vice president of the board of trade. And they pray, that since there appears every reason to hope, that at the end of the financial year there will be such a surplus revenue as to admit of some reduction of taxation, relief may be extended to the cotton manufacture by the removal of an impost which is not only from its very nature repugnant to every principle of political economy, but in its practical operation tends to expose to hazard and injury that branch of trade, on the prosperity of which, far more than that of any other of our manufactures, depends the employment and comfortable subsistence of our laboring population.

The tax on cotton, by "Boyd's British tariff" (1828) was *six per cent. ad valorem*—but if the product of a British colony, free. The reasons assigned for taking off even this small rate of duty, are clearly stated in the article quoted above—the "*competition*" of America, France, &c.

IRISH CHURCH REFORM.

From the Philadelphia papers.

The ministerial plan of church reform for Ireland is again before the house of commons, lord Althorp having moved a series of resolutions in a general committee of the whole house, for the purpose of carrying the whole plan into effect. The resolutions in Monday's debate were opposed by Mr. Lefroy, Mr. Halcomb, sir Robert Inglis and sir Robert Peel, and supported by Mr. Shiel, Mr. Pryme, Mr. Macaulay and lord John Russell. The principal objection to the plan urged on Monday was, that the tax to be levied on the incomes of the Irish clergy, in lieu of the abolished first fruits, and to supply the amount of the churches, would be an unjust and oppressive exaction on a body of men who have already paid the first fruits of their livings, and who for three years past have received little or no income. First, as to the payment of the first fruits; what is the whole amount paid by the Irish clergy in first fruits? Not more than £3:1 a year for the last thirty years. This, therefore, must be regarded as merely a nominal payment; it is a pittance not worth mentioning.

As to the other objection, it leaves out of sight this most material fact, that the clergy have for ages been receiving enormous payments for most inefficient services, and often for no services at all; and that as the body of the people who pay the tax are of a different religion from the clergy who receive it, this is a system of injustice and oppression which has now grown to so great a practical grievance that it is in imminent danger of tumbling down about the years of those who support it. But even leaving all considerations of equity out of the question, what is the plain matter of fact? Why that the whole of the church revenues are in jeopardy; and they can only be rescued by the sacrifice of a part. For it is the enormous amount of those revenues that puts them in danger. They are burdensome to the people, and they are as unjust as they are burdensome. The church vessel has too heavy a cargo, and if the crew refuse to throw over a portion of it when the ship is laboring, the whole must sink together.

The speech of Mr. Shiel furnished numerous precedents for interference with church property, and for a just and rational settlement of the expenses of establishments where they exist. The strongest case was that of Canada, which being the work of a modern British legislature, shows common sense and justice. The majority of the Canadian population being Catholics, (that province having for a long time been French), parliament declared the Catholic to be the established religion; but the lands of Protestants were exempted from the tithes levied for the support of the Catholic clergy. The same principle ought *a fortiori* to be applied to Ireland; for the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is far less in Ireland than in Canada. The plain truth is, that if there is any established religion at all in Ireland, it ought to be the Catholic. On every principle on which churchmen themselves defend establishments, this ought to be the case. A Protestant establishment in a Catholic country is an anomaly, an injustice; and so far from being, in the eyes of any right judging Protestant, favorable to the spread of Protestantism, it affixes upon that religion a stigma and an odium, and is a heavy clog upon all its movements.

It burdens the Catholic, but it also binds him the more firmly to his own faith. It enriches, and at the same time enervates the Protestant; in peaceful times it makes him envied and hated—in times of trouble it makes him a victim and a spoil.

The only consideration which can induce dissenters or liberal Episcopalians to acquiesce in the ministerial plan, and to receive it with gratitude, is, that it is all which there is the least probability of attaining at present.

THE CAPE DE VERD ISLANDS.

Attention is due to the extract annexed from a Boston paper. Our American charity is not always discriminating, and too frequently is prodigal of relief, without inquiring how far it is really needed, or gratefully received.

From the Boston Daily Advertiser of 3d May.

A letter from William G. Merrill, esq. consul at the Cape de Verd Islands, to William B. Reynolds, esq. chairman of the committee appointed in this city, for the relief of the sufferers, under date of the 4th of March, gives an account of the distribution of the provisions received from various parts of the United States. Mr. M. observes that before the arrival of these provisions, hundreds of persons perished, who might have been saved, if the governor would have permitted the sale of *orchilla*, but this being a monopoly of the crown, he was instructed not to allow this to be done on any terms. On the arrival of the Susan, twenty-five militia men and a small boat only, were furnished to Mr. Merrill to assist him in landing the cargo; while at the same time, the government found the means of chartering a vessel to convey soldiers to Africa, and another to Lisbon with despatches. The number of deaths by famine during the last year is represented by Mr. Merrill at about 33,000 nearly two-fifths of the population. The provisions for the relief of the sufferers which were sent from this country, had in some respects a very beneficial effect, and an unhappy one in others. There prevails an impression, says Mr. M. "*that the Americans will supply their future, as well as their present wants.*" Even some of property are impressed with the same idea, and have declined purchasing except for their own consumption, notwithstanding their being offered at low prices. In some instances, however, they would not, were they admitted duty free, which, *has not been the case to the present day*, and the reason why they have not been is, that it is, (as they wish to impress upon the minds of strangers), their only resource to pay their *soldiers*. The only act of the government, indicative of gratitude for the measures of relief, is an exemption of "all vessels sent out with provisions, freight free, (or a large portion of it), from port charges, and a permission to take salt enough to ballast them, duty free; with the exception of one or two privileges granted to Messrs. P. & C. Flint & Co. who were the first to offer their vessel to convey them, and to captain Rider, who announced the fact of the distress of the islanders to the American public. Mr. Merrill concludes by declaring, that as the government has the means of furnishing the islanders with provisions in future, as long as the orchilla is produced, any additional funds designed for their relief would only be misapplied by being sent to these islands.

A census of the population of the Cape de Verd Islands towards the end of 1831:

Island of St. Thiago	26,220
St. Antao	21,670
Fuego	16,870
Brava	9,320
St. Nicholan	8,530
Boa Vista	3,860
Mayo	1,640
St. Vincent	10,350
Total	88,460

Died by starvation in 1832, according to the best information:

In St. Thiago, between 3 and 4 thousand, say	3,500
St. Antao, between 9 and 11 thousand, say	10,000
Fuego, between 11 and 13 thousand, say	12,000
Brava, above	3,000
St. Nicholan, above	2,000
Total	30,500

☞We cannot but admire the *fidelity* of the governor, in holding on to the *orchilla*, during so great a destruction of life for the want of food! If the facts stated are true—many will regret the ill directed course of their charity, though feeling an honest pleasure in reflecting upon the motives which induced it.

Orchilla is a species of lichen, (says the Encyclopedia Americana), celebrated for yielding a fine purple color, which is employed in dyeing.

LOTTERIES IN NEW YORK.

From the Journal of Commerce.

The answer of Yates & McIntyre to the call of the senate for a statement under oath, of the number and amount of schemes which have been drawn in this state since the 30th August, 1826, and the number and amount of tickets *sold* by them during the same period, has been promptly furnished, and seems to have left a favorable impression upon the minds of that body, since they proceeded, on the same day to accept the proposition of Messrs. Yates & McIntyre to *close the lottery business on the 31st. December next*. Had they credited the charges of gross deception and mismanagement brought against those gentlemen in a petition recently presented, they would not have permitted another scheme to be drawn. The assembly, if we mistake not, have already accepted the proposition of the managers. We may therefore safely conclude, that after the close of the present year, *all lotteries will be extinct in this state:* and what is still better, the new constitution declares that "no lottery shall hereafter be authorised in this state; and the legislature shall pass laws to prevent the sale of all lottery tickets within this state, except in lotteries already provided by law,"—i. e. lotteries which will have become extinct by virtue of the pre-

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sent arrangement, before the commencement of another year.

[☞The whole lottery system we think, will soon "go by the board," as it ought; for it is a most wicked gambling for money.]

GEORGIA POLITICS.

The Milledgeville Recorder of the 8th inst. states that the columns of that paper had been kept open with the faint hope that they might lay before their readers some conventional proceedings of moment, but that nothing of public interest connected with the objects of the convention had been transacted.

The same paper states also, that contrary to an opinion expressed by its editors some weeks previous, "that the Troup party would have a majority." they now find the Clark party are predominant, out-numbering the Troup men from twelve to twenty. We annex the following from the Recorder, as containing the substance of the article to which we have above alluded:

They (the Clark party) have the power, and they have thus far exercised it, of controlling the convention. If they are really disposed to remedy the intolerable evils at present existing, to give to each freeman of the state as nearly as possible the same rights—if they are disposed to lessen the burdens of our citizens, and to render unnecessary additional taxation to meet the expenses of the government, in all this they will find zealous and cheerful coadjutors in the Troup minority. If the objects of the convention is left unaccomplished, or but partially and inefficiently performed, upon that party will assuredly rest the censure and the odium.

We seize this moment to say to our friends that within the three days past, since the members of the convention have met at this place, many things have taken place publicly and privately, which, when spread before them, will create their utmost astonishment, and, if we are not greatly mistaken, excite their strongest indignation. And as we feel it our duty, it is our determination to lay before the people the actings and doings, whether privately or publicly performed, of those to whom they have confided the important interests for which the convention was called into existence. This is the people's convention, they are entitled to be informed of the conduct of their delegates; and whether such an exposition shall tell for or against individuals, the people shall, (so far as it is within our power) be fully and precisely informed.

—

On Thursday the 9th instant, the convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole, and the report of the committee of 27 was taken into consideration. Thursday, Friday and Saturday were consumed in speeches, and in the discussion of various propositions for the organization of the senate and house of representatives of the general assembly. Judging from what had taken place, it seems to be the opinion that the senate will be considerably reduced, if not the house. But the great point of contention is the basis of representation. Sectional feelings and interests had prevailed, so far, in the debate. A large number of the delegates, especially those of the north western counties, advocate the *white population* alone as the basis of representation, while the middle counties contend for the present basis of representation, which is the *federal*, as established in the constitution of Georgia, and in that of the United States. The delegates of the lower counties contend for *territorial* representation, and appear willing to unite with those who will offer them advantages in the general assembly which, on account of the sparseness of the population of those counties, they cannot possess, unless territory is represented in one or the other branch of the legislature. On Saturday the main question at issue was tested, in committee of the whole, and decided *in favor of white population as a basis for representation*, but it was thought, when the subject would come before the committee, the *federal* representation might be retained by a spirit of compromise between the various interests and views of the several sections of the country.

—

At a numerous meeting of the citizens of Taliaferro county, Geo. on the 23rd ult. the following resolutions were adopted—

1. *Resolved*, That the law passed at the last session of congress, called the enforcing law, alias "THE BLOODY BILL," is arbitrary and despotic, and amounts virtually to a repeal of the constitution; that it attempts to establish a military despotism, whereby the reserved rights of the states and the liberties of the people are made dependent upon the decision of an irresponsible judiciary, and the discretion of the executive. Well may we have been warned to "*prepare for a Cæsar and the purple.*" As freemen, therefore, we denounce the law as a most dangerous innovation upon our sacred rights; and pledge ourselves to unite with our fellow citizens in resisting it at all hazards, wherever and by whomsoever, it may be attempted to be enforced.

2. *Resolved*, That Messrs. John Forsyth* and James M. Wayne, in supporting the enforcing bill, deserted the best interest of Georgia, betrayed the confidence reposed in them by going over to her enemies in the hour of trial, and have rendered themselves obnoxious to the charge of being influenced by a thirst for executive patronage, and unfit to represent a free people—and ought to resign.

And that we most cordially approve of the exertions of our other senator and representatives to maintain, for us, our constitutional rights.

3. *Resolved*, That, although we do not fully accord with all the principles of Mr. Clay's tariff bill, we are nevertheless disposed to accept this compromise; with the distinct annunciation that we will not abate our vigilant exertions, *until the duties shall be finally reduced to the revenue standard.* And "as that compromise should be our utmost concession, we must hold ourselves ready to take the most decided steps the instant it is violated."

4. *Resolved*, That the executive of Georgia, in the case of the missionaries, did, by his conduct, sacrifice the dignity of the state and prove himself incapable of sustaining her honor—and that a crisis has arrived in which it is all important to have a politician of tried firmness and ability at the head of our state government—and further,

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this meeting, there is no one so well qualified to repair the tarnished honor of the state as our *patriotic fellow citizen, George M. Troup.*

Each of which was, on motion, *unanimously* adopted by the meeting except the *fourth*, to which there was *one dissenting voice.*

Mr. Shackleford then introduced the following:

Resolved, That, having zealously contributed to the repeated elevation of Andrew Jackson to the presidential office, and with pleasure recurred to the better portions of his public course, we fearlessly condemn his inauspicious resolve to *coerce by the might of military force the collection of unconstitutional taxes.*

Which was, after some discussion, adopted by the meeting, *only two dissenting.* ABSALOM JANES, *chairman.*

A. D. SHACKLEFORD, *sec'ry.*

LAW IN ALABAMA.

Huntsville, (Alabama), April, 30.

The circuit court of this county, his hon *Horatio G. Perry*, presiding, closed its session on last Thursday.

The case of *Wm. Hall against John Cowart and others*, for an assault and battery, brought to this court on a change of venue at the instance of the plaintiff, from the county of Jackson, came on to be heard before a jury, composed, in general, of the most respectable and intelligent men. Counsel for the plaintiff, Messrs. Levine and Craighead; for the defendants, Messrs. Clay, McClung and Parsons.

The plaintiff proved that about twenty persons, of whom the defendants, or most of them, were a part, came to his house, arrested him in presence of his family, in open day, and after carrying him some short distance, gave him fifty lashes; that he resisted the arrest by aiming to shoot and otherwise, during which they broke his gun and knocked him down with a stick. He also proved that several of the defendants, in conversations afterwards, had admitted that they and others, as members of the association commonly called the "slick company," had made the arrest and given the lashes; but that they did so as a punishment, under the slick law, for the crime which they said the plaintiff had committed, of passing counterfeit money, of which the counsel for the defendants offered to prove the plaintiff had been guilty. This proof, being objected to, was excluded: The counsel for the defendants then offered to prove that the plaintiff's general character was that of a counterfeiter and dishonest man, which, on objection, was likewise excluded; and no other proof being offered, the argument was heard.

The plaintiff's counsel insisted that their client had made out a cause of action in which the defendants had no legal excuse, and one meriting the most exemplary damages; and many fit topics were urged to induce them to assess such damages.

The defendants' counsel insisted that, as the plaintiff had resorted to proof of the confessions of the defendants, which admitted the punishment—asserted the crime for which it was inflicted, and disclosed the character in which the defendants acted, the whole confession must be taken together. This being the case, the crime for which they punished the plaintiff, and the character in which they acted, formed the only excuse on which they relied. It was insisted further, that the slicks had done much good—that the company was composed of men of the best character, and of known discretion, and that they had punished no innocent man: That, according to the common fame of the times, which was relied on as having the effect of historical truth, there had lurked about the borders of Jackson a band of counterfeiters, who had very much annoyed the mass of population, distinguished, it was said, for virtue and social order, and inundated the country with a spurious currency—that they could not be prosecuted to effect in the county, by reason of their having many accomplices, by whom they could prove any fact necessary to their acquittal; and that honest juries were disinclined to convict for that offence, because the penalty was death, and that as the slick law was milder, and the company had greater facilities of detection, they could do, and had done, more to arrest the progress of the evil than the law of the land had done, or could do. One of the counsel reminded the jury, that, if they assessed damages at all in favor of the plaintiff, it would have to be paid in *good money;* and that it would be the first that had astonished the plaintiff's pockets for a good while. The jury, after a short retirement, returned a verdict for the plaintiff, and assessed the damages at a hundred dollars.

[*Southern Advocate.*

*Mr. Forsyth, one of the senators in congress, and Mr. Wayne one of the representatives. The latter has been chosen president of the convention, recently called to regulate the representation in the state legislature.

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ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES—OFFICIAL.

HEAD QUARTERS OF THE ARMY.

Adjutant general's office, Washington, 4th May, 1833.

1. The following list of promotions and appointments in the army of the United States, made by the president, since the publication of the army register, in January, is published for general information:

I. PROMOTIONS.

First regiment of artillery.

1st lieut. Matthew A. Patrick, to be captain, 4th February, 1833, vice Dana, deceased. [Company B.]

2d lieut. Francis Taylor, to be 1st lieutenant, 31st January, 1833, vice Cook, resigned.

2d lieut. Alexander D. Mackay, to be 1st lieutenant, 4th February, 1833, vice Patrick, promoted.

Brevet 2d lieut. Jacob Ammen, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1831, vice Taylor, promoted.

Brevet 2d lieut. Jacob W. Bailey, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1832, vice Mackay, promoted.

Brevet 2d lieut. Henry G. Sill, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1832, vice Ryan, resigned.

Fourth regiment of artillery.

1st lieut. John H. Washington, to be captain, 30th May, 1832, vice Ripley appointed captain in the ordnance department. [Company B.]

2d lieut. Raphael C. Smead, to be 1st lieutenant, 30th September, 1832, vice Monroe, resigned.

Brevet 2d lieut. Benjamin S. Ewell, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1832, vice Smead, promoted.

First regiment of infantry.

1st lieut. Thomas P. Gwynne, to be captain, 4th March, 1833, vice Mason, appointed major of dragoons.

2d lieut. Thomas B. W. Stockton, to be 1st lieutenant, 4th March, 1833, vice Gwynne, promoted.

Brevet 2d lieut. George Wilson, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1830, vice Stockton, promoted.

Brevet 2d lieut. Edmund A. Ogden, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1831, vice Davis, appointed 2d lieutenant of dragoons.

Second regiment of infantry.

1st lieut. John Clitz, to be captain, 4th April, 1832, vice Thompson, promoted. [Company A.]

1st lieut. Ephraim K. Barnum, to be captain, 28th December, 1832, vice Brent, resigned. [G.]

2d lieut. Hannibal Day, to be 1st lieutenant, 4th April, 1832, vice Clitz, promoted.

2d lieut. William Bloodgood, to be 1st lieutenant, 28th December, 1832, vice Barnum, promoted.

2d lieut. Samuel P. Heintzelman, to be first lieutenant, 4th March, 1833, vice Sumner, appointed captain of dragoons.

Brevet 2d lieut. Edwin R. Long, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1829, vice Day, promoted.

Brevet 2d lieut. James M. Hill, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1830, vice Bloodgood, promoted.

Brevet 2d lieut. Jesse H. Leavenworth, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1830, vice Heintzelman, promoted.

Brevet 2d lieut. George W. Patten, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1830, vice Van Buren, appointed 1st lieut. of dragoons.

Third regiment of infantry.

Brevet major John Fowle, captain of the 5th infantry, to be major, 4th March, 1833, vice Kearney, appointed lieutenant colonel of dragoons.

Brevet 2d lieut. Samuel K. Cobb, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1828, vice Stillwell, resigned.

Fourth regiment of infantry.

Brevet 2d lieut. David A. Manning, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1830, vice Swords, appointed 2d lieutenant of dragoons.

Brevet 2d lieut. Charles H. Larned, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1831, vice Burnet, resigned.

Fifth regiment of infantry.

1st lieut. John M. Baxley, to be captain, 4th March, 1833, vice Fowle, promoted.

2d lieut. Moses C. Merrill, to be 1st lieutenant, 4th March, 1833, vice Baxley, promoted.

2d lieut. Ephraim K. Smith, to be 1st lieutenant, 4th March, 1833, vice Hunter, appointed captain of dragoons.

Brevet 2d lieut. James Allen, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1829, vice Merrill, promoted.

Brevet 2d lieut. John T. Collingsworth, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1830, vice Perkins, appointed 1st lieut. of dragoons.

Brevet 2d lieut. C. C. Daveiss, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1830, vice Smith, promoted.

Sixth regiment of infantry.

Brevet major Alex. R. Thompson, captain of the 2d infantry, to be major, 4th April, 1832, vice Davenport promoted.

1st lieut. George W. Waters, to be captain, 4th March, 1833, vice Wharton, appointed captain of dragoons.

2d lieut. Henry St. James Linden, to be 1st lieutenant, 4th March, 1833, vice Waters, promoted.

2d lieut. Gustavus Dorr, to be 1st lieutenant, 4th March, 1833, vice Holmes, appointed captain of dragoons.

Brevet 2d lieut. William Hoffman, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1829, vice Linden, promoted.

Brevet 2d lieut. Albert Cady, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1829, vice Dorr, promoted.

Brevet 2d lieut. Jona. Freeman, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1829, vice Cooke, appointed 1st lieutenant of dragoons.

Brevet 2d lieut. Thomas L. Alexander, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1830, vice Rousseau, resigned.

Seventh regiment of infantry.

1st lieut. Charles Thomas, to be captain, 30th April, 1833, vice Burch, resigned.

1st lieut. James L. Dawson, to be captain, 30th April, 1833, vice Berryman, resigned.

2d lieut. William G. Williams, to be 1st lieutenant, 30th April, 1833, vice Thomas, promoted.

2d lieut. Dixon S. Miles, to be 1st lieutenant, 30th April, 1833, vice Dawson, promoted.

Brevet 2d lieut. Samuel Kinney, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1830, vice Seawell, appointed 1st lieutenant of dragoons.

Brevet 2d lieut. Richard H. Ross, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1830, vice Williams, promoted.

Brevet 2d lieut. Albert M. Lea, to be 2d lieutenant, 1st July, 1831, vice Miles, promoted.

II...APPOINTMENTS.

Staff.

Adam D. Stuart, of Va. to be paymaster, 14th January, 1833.

Joseph D. Harris, N. Y. to be assistant surgeon, 2d March, 1833.

Nathan S. Jarvis, N. Y. to be assistant surgeon, 2d March, 1833.

Richard Clark, of N. Y. to be assistant surgeon, 2d March, 1833.

Adam N. McLaren, S. C. to be assistant surgeon, 2d March, 1833.

Benjamin F. Fellowes, N. H. to be assistant surgeon, 2d March, 1833.

Ordnance department.

James W. Ripley, late captain of the 4th regiment of artillery, to be captain, to take rank from the 30th May, 1832.

Regiment of dragoons.

Major Henry Dodge, of the battalion of mounted rangers, to be colonel, 4th March, 1833.

Major Stephen W. Kearny, of the 3d regiment of infantry, to be lieutenant colonel, 4th March, 1832.

Captain Richard B. Mason, of the 1st regiment of infantry, to be major, 4th March, 1833.

Captain Clifton Wharton, of the 6th regiment of infantry, to be captain 4th March, 1833.

1st lieut. Edwin V. Summer, of the 2d regiment of infantry, to be captain, 4th March, 1833.

1st lieut. Reuben Holmes, of the 6th regiment of infantry, to be captain 4th March, 1833.

1st lieut. David Hunter, of the 5th regiment of infantry, to be captain, 4th March, 1833.

2d lieut. Washington Seawell, of the 7th regiment of infantry, to be 1st lieutenant, 4th March, 1833.

2d lieut. David Perkins, of the 5th regiment of infantry, to be 1st lieutenant, 4th March, 1833.

2d lieut. Philip St. George Cooke, of the 6th regiment of infantry, to be 1st lieutenant, 4th March, 1833.

2d lieut. Abraham Van Buren, of the 2d regiment of infantry, to be 1st lieutenant, 4th March, 1833.

2d lieut. Jefferson Davis, of the 1st regiment of infantry, to be 2d lieutenant, 4th March, 1833.

2d lieut. Lancaster P. Lupton, of the 3d regiment of infantry, to be 2d lieutenant, 4th March, 1833.

2d lieut. Thomas Swords, of the 4th regiment of infantry, to be 2d lieutenant, 4th March, 1833.

2d lieut. J. H. K. Burgwin, of the 2d regiment of infantry, to be 2d lieutenant, 4th March, 1833.

III—CASUALTIES.

Resignations.

Captains. Joshua B. Brant, 2d infantry, 28th December, 1832. Daniel D. Burch, 7th infantry, 30th April, 1833. Henry Berryman, 7th infantry, 30th April, 1833.

1st lieut. James H. Cooke, 1st artillery, 31st January, 1833.

2d lieutenants. Stephen V. R. Ryan, 1st artillery, 31st March, 1833. W. S. Stilwell, 3d infantry, 31st March, 1833. Robert W. Burnet, 4th infantry, 31st March, 1833. Gustavus S. Rousseau 6th infantry, 30th April, 1833.

Brevet 2d lieutenants. Henderson K. Yoakum, 3d artillery, 31st March, 1833. John G. Harvey, 2d infantry, 15th February, 1833. George B. Crittenden, 4th infantry, 30th April, 1833.—Humphrey Marshall, mounted rangers, April 30th, 1833.

Assistant surgeon. John Thruston, 1st May, 1833.

Paymaster. Alphonso Wetmore, 1st May, 1833.

DECLINED.

2d lieut. James F. Izard, regiment of dragoons. 2d lieutenant Joseph Ritner, regiment of dragoons.

DEATHS.

Captain. Nathaniel G. Dana, 1st artillery, 4th Feb. 1833.

2. Major Thompson, of the 6th regiment of infantry, is assigned to the command of fort Leavenworth, to which post he will repair, without unnecessary delay. Major Fowle, of the 3d infantry will report in person for orders, at the adjutant general's office. All other officers promoted will report by letter to their respective colonels, and join their proper stations, unless otherwise instructed from this office.

3. The date of lieut. H. A. Wilson's promotion to 1st lieut. in the 4th regiment of artillery, is *May 30th*, 1832 instead of "September 30th, 1832." This change of date results from the recent promotion of 1st lieutenant Washington, vice captain Ripley, appointed captain of ordnance.

By order of major general Macomb,

R. JONES, *adj't general.*

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REPORT ON MANUFACTURES.

Report of the minority of the committee on manufactures, prepared and submitted by Mr. Adams.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 28, 1833.

Mr. *Adams*, by direction from the majority of the committee on manufactures, moved that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the matters referred to them by the house; and, on the part of the minority of the same committee, he presented the following report on so much of the president's annual message to congress as relates to domestic manufactures and the protection necessary to be afforded the same; referred to the committee by resolution of the house, of 13th December, 1832.

The subscribers, members of the committee on manufactures, to which was referred so much of the message of the president of the United States to congress, at the commencement of the present session, as relates to the protection necessary to domestic manufactures, dissenting from the report of the majority of the committee, present herewith respectfully to the house their own views upon the subject referred by the house to the committee to report thereon.

The parts of the message which relate to the protection necessary to domestic manufactures, may be considered separately or in connexion with other great national interests, forming the subject of the annual communication from the chief of the executive department of the government to the legislature. In the message itself they are recommended to the consideration of congress, in connexion with proposals for such further reduction in the revenue as may not be required for the objects of general welfare and public defence, which the constitution authorises, and for which reduction the occasion is stated by the president to result from the impending final discharge of the national debt; an event on the occurrence of which the subscribers most cordially sympathise with the sentiments expressed by the president. They consider the final and total discharge of the public debt as a subject of grateful acknowledgment to the wisdom, energy, and fidelity to their trust, of those who preceded us in the management of our national concerns; of mutual gratulation to ourselves, who enjoy the benefits of this alleviation of the burdens cheerfully borne by our fathers, and hitherto by us, for the sacred preservation of the public faith; and of anticipated felicity to our successors in the exemption from burdens which we and our fathers have borne without murmuring or complaint, to secure to them, our posterity, the blessings of freedom, independence and union. Enjoying, in all the purity of patriotism, the comfort of this great alleviation of public burdens, the subscribers deprecate, with equal earnestness and sincerity, the contingency of any event which should, at the very moment of fruition, dash from the lips of our prosperity the cup of joy, and substitute, in its place, the bitter potion of disunion, civil dissension, and fraternal war.

Under these impressions, it was not without feelings of deep concern, and of painful sensibility, that the subscribers beheld, in the message of the president of the United States, the broad and unqualified assertion of principles, and the development of an entire political system for the future government of the union, as new and unheard of, as to them it appears incorrect, and incompatible with the foundations of our political existence.

The first of these principles, and that from which all the others appear to the subscribers to be derived—the basis of the message and of the whole system of administration, for the futurity of this union, is contained in the following position, which the subscribers submit to the consideration of the house in the very words of the message itself—"The wealth and strength of a country are its population, and the *best part* of that population are the cultivators of the soil. Independent farmers are, every where, the basis of society, and true friends of liberty."

That the president of the United States should, in a public document, addressed to the representatives of the whole people of this union, peremptorily declare one part of the population, by them represented, better than the rest, appears to the subscribers little compatible with that equality of rights upon which our whole social system is, by them, believed to be founded. If one part of the population, parties to the social compact, is the best, it necessarily follows that another part of the same population is the worst; that there are different degrees of merit in different portions of the same population, estimated not by their moral, but by their social condition; not by their individual qualifications of virtue and understanding, but by their respective occupations and possessions.

In examining this fundamental principle of politics and morals, thus put forth as the foundation for the system of policy to be hereafter erected for the government of this great and growing confederated nation, the subscribers have endeavored to ascertain to whom it is that this proud pre-eminence of merit is assigned by the chief executive magistrate of the union. He asserts that the wealth and strength of a country are its population, and that the best part of that population are the cultivators of the soil. Now, the population of a country consists of the whole mass of human beings abiding within it; and, of the population of this country, a vast proportion of the cultivators of the soil are in a state of servitude—possessing no rights, civil or political—and existing only as the property of another part of the same population. That these cultivators of the soil constitute a large portion of the wealth of this country, is undoubtedly true; that they constitute a considerable portion of its strength is far more questionable; but the subscribers cannot believe it was to them that the intention of the president was to ascribe the transcendent honor of constituting the best part of our population; and, if not to them, neither was it to the class of freemen, in another part of the union, also cultivators of the soil, laboring, like them, by the sweat of their brow, for their daily subsistence, by daily labor, but in the full enjoyment of civil and political rights, and constituting, in truth, not a better, but as good, a part of the population as any other in the community. It was not, however, to them that the president intended to attribute the superiority of excellence as a component part of the population. His meaning is more fully disclosed in the subsequent clause of the sentence above cited, in the affirmation that "independent farmers are every where the basis of society, and true friends of liberty." Taking the whole sentence together, the subscribers believe that, in the understanding of the author of the message, the cultivators of the soil, in the first part of the sentence, were identical with the independent farmers in the second; and that the sentiment, in the mind of the writer, and the aphorism of moral and political economy laid down by the whole sentence, is that, in all countries, generally, and especially in our own, the best part of the population —the basis of society—and the friends pre-eminently of freedom, are the *wealthy land-holders*.

This principle is certainly not new in the history of the world, or of human government; it is the fundamental axiom of all landed aristocracies; it is the foundation of the feudal system, and, when carried out into practice, must inevitably resolve itself into it. The term aristocracy, by its derivation, is the government *of the best;* and where the property of the soil is distributed in portions so unequal, that its cultivators are divided into masters and slaves, or into landlords and tenants, power will naturally concentrate itself in the hands of the large holders of the lands, who will soon constitute themselves the basis of society—the independent farmers the best part of the population—true friends of liberty, confined exclusively to themselves, but holding in oppressive servitude the real cultivators of the soil, and ruling, with a rod of iron, over all the other occupations and professions of men.

Such has been the development of this fundamental principle of government, in the history of other ages and countries. So has it especially disclosed itself in the annals of France, of Spain, of Germany, of Poland, of Russia and of England. The independent farmers, or wealthy land holders, of all those countries, have constituted the ancient feudal barons, as they now constitute the modern nobles, holding the laborious husbandmen of the same countries in servitude, or in abject poverty and the most degrading dependence.

The subscribers believe that the Declaration of Independence, and the government of this union, are founded upon a different and opposite principle—upon the principle that all men are born with equal rights; and that however in one portion of the union, the independent farmers or planters, cultivating the soil by their slaves, may be considered, by one of themselves, as the basis of society, and the best part of the population, the assumption of such a principle, as a foundation of a system of national policy for the future government of these United States, is an occurrence of the most dangerous and alarming tendency; as threatening, at no remote period, not only the property, but the peace of the country, and as directly leading to the most fatal of catastrophes—the dissolution of the union by a complicated, civil and servile war.

Had it been possible for the subscribers to consider the principles thus authoritatively laid down in the message as a mere abstract speculative opinion, indicative only of a mind habitually occupied in meditation upon the first principles of government, they might have deemed it their duty to pass it over in silence, regretting that an opinion so adverse to all the lessons of history, and to every rational theory of human rights, should ever have found its way into the mind of the executive chief of the union: and still more into an official communication from him to the legislative assembly of the nation. But they find it pervading every part of the message relating to the administration of the internal affairs of the country—they trace it in the denunciation of uncompromising hostility to the bank of the United States—they discern it in the general dissuasion of all future encouragement, or aid to be given to objects of internal improvement—they perceive it in the portentous recommendations to abandon all purpose of deriving a revenue for the general benefit from that invaluable fund of national wealth—the public lands; and in the astonishing proposal to give them all away to the states within which they are situated, or to adventurers who may be allured by promises of sharing in those spoils of the national domain, plundered from the whole people of the union, to become members of this best part of the population, the independent farmers, cultivators of the soil, taken from all their fellow citizens to be gratuitously bestowed upon them. They see it, above all, in the destiny to which the message consigns the great manufacturing interest of the country, including the handicraftsmen and mechanics of all our populous cities and all our flourishing towns. These are not the basis of society—they are not the cultivators of the soil—they are not the best part of the population—their equal rights may be trampled upon —their highest interests may be sacrificed—their property may be wrested from their hand—themselves and their families may be driven by measures of national policy, by acts of the government of the union, to beggary and ruin, for the benefit of the independent farmers, the wealthy land-holders—the best part of the population.

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Such are the practical consequences which must flow from the reproduction by the head of this national union, as a fundamental principle of government of the old and long exploded doctrine, that the wealthy land-holders of all countries constitute the best part of their population. Under this theory it can no longer be surprising to find in the message an entire system of propositions and of recommendations, which, if adopted and sanctioned by the legislature, will accomplish a revolution in the government of the United States, and, in the solemn and deliberate opinion of the subscribers, a total subversion of their constitution.

In descending from the general axiom, that in all countries the independent farmers or wealthy land-holders, cultivators of the soil, constitute the best part of the population, to the measures of legislation recommended to congress for carrying out this principle, in the administration of the government, four features are discernible, as especially characteristic of the message. First, the abandonment for the future of all appropriations of public monies to purposes of internal improvement. Second, the practical total dereliction of all protection to domestic industry, whether agricultural, manufacturing or mechanical. Third, the nullification of all future revenue from the public domains, by the bestowal of them in free donation to voluntary settlers upon them, from the privileged class of citizens, cultivators of the soil, to swell the numbers of the best part of the population, at the expense of all the rest, or to the favored states in which this common property happens to be situated. Fourth, the denunciation of the bank of the United States, depreciating the value of the stock held in it by the nation; distressing the commercial community with suspicions of the solidity of its funds, and stimulating the profligacy of fraudulent gambling in its stock. In every one of these four particulars the recommendations of the message are in diametrical opposition to the well established, deliberately adopted, and long tried policy, by which the union has hitherto been governed, under the present constitution of the United States—in diametrical opposition to the purposes for which it was formed—to the principles upon which it has been administered, and, with the most painful, but most undoubting conviction, the subscribers must add, to the solemn compacts and indefeasible obligations by which the nation is bound.

Although the plan of government marked out and delineated in the message forms a whole system, sufficiently consistent with itself, and all derivable from the fundamental position that the wealthy land-holders constitute the best part of the population, yet it is observable, that in every instance the subordinate principle advanced as the groundwork of each separate recommendation, is, by the terms of the message, so qualified in the theory, as scarcely, if at all, to differ from the views and opinions entertained by the friends of the interest which the recommendation itself is adapted to destroy. Thus, for example, in the recommendation to abandon all future appropriations of public monies for purposes of internal improvement, the only principle avowed is, "that the constitution does not warrant the application of the funds of the general government to objects of internal improvement, *which are not national in their character*." From this position, the most ardent and most liberal friend of internal improvement will not dissent. No appropriation ever has been asked—there is not the shadow of a danger that any appropriation of funds ever will be asked, but for objects alleged to be of a national character; and of their legitimate title to that character, the representatives of the whole people, and of all the state legislatures in congress assembled, under the control of a qualified negative by the chief magistrate of the union, all acting under a constant responsibility to their constituents, are qualified and competent judges. That there will be, as there have been, diversities of opinion, whether any specified object of internal improvement is or is not of a national character, may be freely admitted; and that in all cases where it may be reasonably doubted, the wise and prudent policy of the constituted authorities will induce them rather to withhold than grant the appropriation, is a conclusion deducible not less from the experience of the past, than from the confidence due to the moral character of the delegated representatives of the nation. That in the great majority of applications for appropriations in aid of internal improvements, which have been made to congress, the objects for which they were solicited have been of a national character could not be, and was not doubted. Of the appropriations made, the subscribers confidently affirm, that none can be pointed out which are not unquestionably of that character. If there has been error in the administration of the government, in the application of appropriations to these objects, it has been an error of parsimony and not of profusion; a refusal of the public money where it ought to have been granted, and not a bestowal of it where it ought to have been denied. In the sober and honest discretion of the legislature, under the vigilant supervision of the executive chief, a guard amply sufficient for the protection of the public resources against wasteful or improvident expenditures, has been provided by the constitution.

It is said in the message, that, "without some general and well defined principles, *ascertaining* those objects of internal improvement to which the means of the nation may be constitutionally applied, it is obvious that the exercise of the power can never be satisfactory." Suppose this position, in its fullest extent, to be admitted. The message does not deny that the power of granting appropriations for internal improvements of a national character is vested, completely and unequivocally vested, in congress, by the constitution; and the president himself, in the discharge of his official duties, has, in numerous instances, given his sanction to such appropriations. And in that grant of power, as in all others, is necessarily and unavoidably implied the power of ascertaining and defining the principles upon which, in the spirit of the constitution, it shall be exercised. If, therefore, in the exercise of the power of making such appropriations hitherto, there has been a neglect or omission to ascertain and define the principles upon which they have been made, it is a duty yet to be performed by congress itself, and which requires the interposition of no other power. It is obvious that to resort elsewhere than to congress itself, to ascertain and define the objects upon which the power is unquestionably delegated to them of appropriating public monies to internal improvements, is precisely equivalent to a denial of the right of congress to exercise the power in all cases whatsoever.

With regard to the danger to which the message supposes congress may be exposed of making hasty appropriations to works of the character of which they may be frequently ignorant, the argument necessarily presupposes a habitual, gross and criminal neglect of their duties; by a majority of both houses of congress, a reflection upon the honor and honesty of those bodies, of which the subscribers deem it sufficient to say that it is equally unwarrantable and misplaced. So long as the members of both houses of congress shall entertain a just sense of their duties to their country, to their constituents, and to their own characters: so long there is, and will be, no danger—none, whatever, of their being exposed to make hasty appropriations to works of the character of which they are ignorant, or to any other purpose. The members of both houses of congress, are accountable for the wisdom as well as for the purity of their official conduct, not to the executive magistrate, himself accountable to them for his own, but to their constituents and to their country. Nor has that country committed to the executive magistrate the custody of its own purity, in the exercise of the elective franchise. If it be true that a prospect of making navigable a creek or river—of bringing commerce to the doors of the people—or of increasing the value of their property, may operate occasionally as inducements to individuals to favor by their suffrages the success of a candidate whom they may suppose to be better qualified than his opponent, to obtain for them those great and valuable improvements—is it justice or equity—is it a fair perception of the nature of things, to stigmatize this as a corrupting influence? No influence can be more just and pure. To benefit the people, by making navigable the river or creek in their neighborhood—by bringing commerce to their doors—and by increasing the value of their property, are among the most important and most valuable services that a representative can render to his constituents. To draw good from evil, is one of the high and holy attributes of Omnipotence. To draw evil from good, is the peculiar attribute of the arch enemy of mankind; but singular, indeed, is the aspect of that political axiom, which imputes dishonesty to the representative in the zeal with which he promotes the interests of his constituents; and finds the evidence of corruption in the exercise of the highest beneficence. Suppose this calumniated influence to be successful; suppose a candidate to be elected to congress, by the confidence of his constituents in the superiority of his talent and capacity to obtain appropriations of public money to render their neighboring river navigable—to bring commerce to their doors, and to increase the value of their property—talent and capacity are qualities of which men seldom form erroneous estimates, in the choice of their representatives, when their judgments are enlightened by their interest. Talent and capacity, brought into the representative councils of the nation, by the selection of a member for one district, under the influence of a belief that it will be exerted for the benefit of those by whom he is chosen, is talent and capacity available on the scene where it has been introduced, for all the great interests of the nation. It is there that the representative of every single district becomes a representative of the whole people. As the representative of one district, he has, to promote the interests of his immediate constituents, but one of more than two hundred votes. But that one vote he has also upon all the questions within the competency of congress, and affecting the interests of the whole nation, and of all its parts. The result then of every election which brings into this house a member, recommended to the favor of his constituents by the zeal and ability with which he may promote the internal improvement of his own neighborhood, is essentially advantageous to the whole nation, and has a direct tendency to establish a high standard of intellectual worth, as the measure of qualification for a seat in the house. It is congenial to that spirit of moral elevation and dignity which constitutes the only solid foundation of representative government; and it is only by confounding the elements of good and evil, that it can be stigmatised as tainted with corruption.

As little can the subscribers yield their assent to the reasoning in the message, which effectively urges upon congress to refrain from the exercise of all powers of which more than one-fourth, that is, seven states of this union, would be unwilling now to make the grant, and which any still smaller portion of the people may, at any period since the existence of the constitution, have opposed or resisted under the vague and indefinite denomination of doubtful powers. Fearful and hopeless, indeed, would be the condition of the people of these United States, if every grant of power delegated by them, for their own benefit and improvement, to their united national supreme legislature, should be annulled or struck with impotence by every scruple

of doubt which the refinements of metaphysical subtlety, the transient ebullitions of popular excitement, or the factious instigations of electioneering artifice, have, from time to time, disseminated over different sections of the country. There is, perhaps, not a single grant of power to congress in that great national compact of government, the constitution of the United States, which at some period of our history has not been assailed by numerous parties and their controversial wranglers, as doubtful powers; even at this hour we are, apparently, on the verge of a conflict in arms, on the very borders of a civil war with one of the states of the union, for the exercise of powers, the want of which first gave rise to the constitution itself, which have been quietly exercised from the organization of the government for nearly forty years without a dissenting voice; and which now, under the new lights of nullification have been discovered to be such plain and palpable violations of the constitution, as to warrant the state in which this discovery has been made, in resorting to her sovereign power, to declare them within her own borders null and void. There are seven states of this union, the whole free population of which by the returns of the last census, amounted only to seven hundred and seventy one thousand two hundred and eighteen souls; a majority of these, sufficient to command the vote and decision of them all, would be less than four hundred thousand; and thus, upon the recommendations of the message, a nation consisting of ten millions of freemen, must be crippled in the exercise of their associated power, unmanned of all their energies applicable to the improvement of their own condition, by the doubts, scruples, or fanciful discontents of a portion among themselves, less in number than double the amount of population in the single city of New York.

The subscribers assume as a principle, demonstrated beyond all possibility of doubt, that of the whole free population of the union, a vast majority—they entertain, themselves, no question that it is a majority amounting to more than three fourths of the whole—believe, without a scintillation of doubt, that the power of appropriating public monies to objects of internal improvement of a national character, as understood by congress itself, has been delegated to congress by the whole people, in the constitution of the United States. The message itself does not question this grant of power; and it is tacitly affirmed by the chief magistrate himself, in his sign manual affixed to every act of congress making such appropriations which has received his signature. What reason or motive, then, can there be for congress to interdict itself from the exercise of beneficent power, essential to the welfare and prosperity of the whole people, to gratify the dog-in-manger disposition of less than one-twentieth part of the community? Truly, very truly, does the message say that "there is nothing so worthy of the constant solicitude of this government as the harmony and union of the people;" but, is it imagined that harmony and union can be promoted by the perpetual sacrifice of the will, the interest, and the well-being of nineteen-twentieths of the whole people, to the contracted and envious passions or to the sordid parsimony of the remaining twentieth? The subscribers will neither express nor entertain a suspicion that the recommendation to apply to the states of this union for grants of additional power to congress, and in the mean time to abstain from the exercise of all powers, which the one-twentieth part of the people may be pleased or instigated to consider as *doubtful*, was not made in good faith and sincerity; but without questioning the motive which could lead to such a proposal, they cannot but regard it in effect as disclosing the purpose of disabling and abdicating all power of making appropriations for all and every great object of internal improvement hereafter and forever. As little hesitation have they in declaring it as their belief, that this purpose, and the whole system of which it forms a part, is in nowise calculated to promote the harmony and union of the people. It is a natural emanation from the fountain of a principle divided itself, and the source of all fatal division—a principle which pronounces one class of the citizens of this union, to the disparagement of all others, the best part of the population.

The subscribers disclaim all communion of sentiment with this opinion, to which they can assent as true in no sense whatever. They deny that there is any sense in which language can give utterance; and in which the *cultivators of the soil*, be they who they may, included under the denomination, can, with truth, be called the best part of the population. They believe, on the contrary, with the greatest orator, statesman and patriot of ancient Rome, and with the sublimest genius of ancient Greece, with Cicero and with Plato, that "whosoever gives preference to one part of the citizens, and neglects another part, introduces into the community the elements of the most pernicious discord and sedition. It necessarily produces rival factions, some favoring the populace, and some favoring THE BEST, and leaving scarcely any favorers of ALL." This was the patriotism of Cicero; this was the philosophy of Plato, two thousand years and upwards before the Declaration of Independence. The doctrine is founded upon eternal truth. It is the only doctrine upon which governments of equal rights can be founded; as that which divides the population into a best and a worst part is the never failing source of tyranny and oppression, of civil strife, the shedding of brother's blood, and the total extinction of freedom.

The subscribers hope and trust, therefore, that congress will not abdicate by nonuser, the power delegated to them by the constitution of the United States, of making appropriations of public money to great national objects of internal improvements. They consider the exercise of the power as essential to the welfare and prosperity of the whole people; they believe it to have been delegated for the purpose of promoting that welfare; and that to refrain from the exercise of the power would be a dereliction of duty in congress itself, and treachery to the trust committed to them by the people. They further believe that the people of this union never will submit to a permanent abandonment of the principle, hitherto so successfully and so advantageously to them carried into practice, of making such appropriations: that however it may be suspended for a time, under a theory of partial preference to an imaginary *best part of the population*, it will never be extinguished but with the life-blood of the union itself. For what is the final result of this doctrine of abdicating powers arbitrarily designated as doubtful? What but the degradation and impotence of the nation itself?—the degradation of chaining its own hands? of fettering its own feet? of disabling itself from bettering its own condition? The impotence of inability to employ its own faculties for its own improvement. It is the principle upon which the roving Tartar denies himself a permanent habitation, because to him the wandering shepherd is the best part of the population; the principle upon which the savage of the American forest refuses to till the ground, because to him the hunter of the woods is the best part of the population. Imperfect civilization in all stages of human society shackles itself with fanatical prejudices of exclusive favor to its own occupations, as the owner of a plantation with a hundred slaves believes the summit of human virtue to be attained only by independent farmers, cultivators of the soil. Not by such opinions or such maxims of government were the people of the United States animated and inspired, when, "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, they did ordain and establish the constitution of the United States of America." Their purpose, in this great and solemn *mutual covenant*, was their own improvement—the improvement of the condition of the whole. The constitution itself is but one great organized engine of improvement, physical, moral, political. It directed the assemblage, from time to time, of chosen bodies of men, vested with limited powers, to consult, to deliberate, and to act upon all the great interests of peace and war, common to the people. It was no compact of separate and distinct bodies politic. The separate states were not competent to form any such compact, or to confer any such powers; the people of each state were competent to form, and did form, constitutions for themselves; but their sphere of action to ordain and establish was limited within their own boundaries. For where did the state, the creature of the sovereign people of Massachusetts, where did, or where could, that state acquire the right of bestowing upon the people of Pennsylvania a right of representation in this house? As well might the *state* of Massachusetts have undertaken to ordain and establish who should be represented in the parliament of Great Britain, or in the chamber of deputies of France. The whole people of the United States were alone competent to determine and to ordain how, and in what manner, they and their posterity should be represented in this assembly; and as well might it be contended that the state of Ohio, which had no existence, or the state of Louisiana, which was a Spanish colony, were parties to the constitution of the United States at its formation, as that the parties to it were the thirteen states of which the old lifeless confederation had been composed. The constitution was, as it is on its face declared to be, the act of the whole people, and it is the instrument by which they organized the means of effecting the improvements of their own condition, by the agency of their government. In refraining from the exercise of the powers delegated to them for the good of the whole, the government not only abdicate their own power, but effectively disable that of the nation itself. The energy which slumbers in their hands, is no better than dead to the good of the people; it arrests the hand of divine beneficence itself; degrades the nation to a level of inferiority among the families of mankind, and proclaims as the fundamental law of their association their inability to apply their own faculties to their own elevation in the scale of being.

It is then, with sentiments of deep mortification and of unqualified dissent, that the subscribers have observed the earnest recommendations to congress in the message, to abandon the whole system of appropriations for internal improvements, which has hitherto been pursued; which was in the full tide of successful experiment, and which, for a long series of years, has been contributing to increase the comforts, to multiply the enjoyments, and to consolidate the strength and happiness of the American people. To abandon them all, for in no other light can they consider the extraordinary, though vague and indefinite commendations of *simplicity*, as the suitable characteristic for the government of a nation of swarming millions of human beings—the intensely urgent exhortations to congress to refrain from the exercise of all beneficent powers, which one-twentieth part of the people may carp and cavil at as doubtful—the incomprehensible argument that harmony and union are to be promoted by stifling the firm and manly voice of nineteen-twentieths of our constituents, to satisfy the brainsick doubts, or appease the menacing clamors of less than one-twentieth—and finally the direct recommendation to congress, to dispose of all stocks now held by the general government in corporations, whether created by the general or state governments, and to place the proceeds in the treasury.

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In these recommendations, and in the spirit with which they are pressed upon the consideration of congress, the subscribers can discern nothing less than a proposed revolution of government in this union—a *revolution*, the avowed purpose of which is, to *reduce* the general government to a simple machine. A simple machine? The universe in which we daily revolve, and which seems to our vision daily to revolve round us, is a simple machine under the guidance of an Omnipotent hand. The president of the United States, *one* of the functionaries provided by the constitution for the ordinary management of the affairs of the government, but not entrusted even with the power of *action*, upon any proposed alteration or amendment to the constitution, undertakes to *reduce* the general government to a simple machine—the simplicity of which shall consist of universal beneficence, in preserving peace, affording a uniform currency, maintaining the inviolability of contracts, diffusing intelligence, and discharging, *unfelt*, its other (nameless, unenumerated, and undefined) superintending functions. Truly this *simplicity* may be aptly compared with that of the government of the universe; needing only an Omnipotent hand to guide and regulate its movements, and differing from it, as would seem, only in the self denial of all power to improve the condition, or promote the general welfare of the community, by and for whom this simple machine was ordained. To the subscribers, it appears that of all the attributes of government among men, simplicity is the last that deserves commendation. The simplest of all governments is an absolute despotism, and it may confidently be affirmed, that, in proportion as a government approaches to simplicity, will always be its approaches to arbitrary power. It is by the complication of government alone, that the freedom of mankind can be secured; simplicity is the essential characteristic in the condition of all slavery; and if the people of these United States enjoy a greater share of liberty than any other nation upon earth, it is because, of all the governments upon earth, theirs is the most complicated. The simplicity to which the recommendations of the message would reduce the machine of government, is a simplicity of impotence; an abdication of the power to do good; a divestment of all power in this confederated people to improve their own condition.

In the recommendations of the message, relating to the disposal of the public lands, the subscribers perceive the same speculative aversion to control, which seeks to reduce the government to a simple machine, the same preference of one class of citizens—the independent farmers, cultivators of the soil—over all other members of the community. The recommendations of the message are, "that the public lands shall cease, as soon as practicable, to be a source of revenue—that they be sold to settlers, in limited parcels, at a price barely sufficient to reimburse to the United States the expenses of the present system, and the cost arising under our Indian compacts; and that, in *convenient time*, the machinery of accurate surveys and undoubted titles be withdrawn from the states, and the right of soil, and the future disposition of it, be surrendered to the states respectively in which it lies."

The proposition is to give away all the public lands—first, to enable individual adventurers to secure an independent freehold, because cultivators of the soil are the *best* part of the population; and finally to surrender all the remainder to the states in which the lands are situated, because "it cannot be expected that the new states will remain longer contented with the present policy, after the payment of the public debt."

The public lands are the property of the whole people of the United States; they are the national domain. To give them away to individual adventurers, is to take away the property of one portion of the citizens, and bestow it upon another; and, as if this outrage upon the right of property were not sufficient without the superaddition of insult, the plundered portion of the community are told that those on whom their lands are lavished, are the *best part of the population*. It is said in the message that "the proceeds arising from the sale of the lands are distributed chiefly among states which had not originally any claim to them." Were this assertion true, what possible bearing can the places where the proceeds of the sale of property are distributed, have upon the right of the proprietor to the proceeds of the sale. The proceeds of the sales of public lands are not distributed in gratuities. What is meant by the assertion that they are distributed among states? They are not distributed among states at all. What is meant by "states which had not originally any claim to them?" What state had originally any claim to the public lands in Louisiana or Florida? What portion of the public lands is there to which the whole union, and of course every state in the union, had not originally *a claim*? From the very formation of the confederation, all the states, within which not an inch of public land existed, had *a claim* to their just proportion of the public lands situated within the boundaries of the other states—and that claim was just; in deference to the justice of that claim, all the cessions of public lands were made by the states in which they were situated; and without these cessions, the confederation never would have been formed. The right of the whole people, therefore, to all the public lands, is a perfect right, independent, totally independent, of all consideration of the localities where the proceeds of the sales of them may be distributed, and for the enjoyment of which, as a right founded in the first elements of human society, the states wherein the lands are situated have no more right to be discontented than the tenant of a dwelling house belonging to another has the right to be discontented that the fee of the possession is in his landlord and not in himself.

This right of property is, however, not wholly unqualified. The cessions of territory made to the United States by the states of New York, Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, South Carolina and Georgia, were all conditional; and the common condition of all the grants was, that the lands by them respectively ceded should be held and disposed of for the use and benefit of all the United States, the ceding state included, and for no other use whatsoever. Upon this condition, all the cessions were accepted by the United States in congress assembled, and the United States thereby contracted the solemn and positive *engagement* to hold and dispose of all the lands thus ceded conformably to that condition, and to no other use whatever.

The constitution of the United States, in the third section of the fourth article, declares that "congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States;" with the express addition that "nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state." And in the sixth article, it provides "that all debts contracted and *engagements entered into*, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution as under the confederation."

It appears to the subscribers, that congress could neither give away the public lands to individual settlers, to enable them to acquire independent freeholds, nor surrender them to the states in which they are situated, without a threefold violation of the constitution; first, by abdicating the power entrusted to them of disposing of the territory of the United States, conformably to the conditions under which it is held, and of making all needful rules and regulations respecting it; secondly, by prejudicing the just and undoubted claims, both of the United States, and of every particular state within which there are no public lands; and, thirdly, by trampling under foot solemn engagements entered into before the adoption of the constitution. In the list of powers to be exercised by congress, when the government shall be reduced to the simple machine, avowed to be the purpose of the president by the recommendations of the message, this power of disposing of, and making needful rules and regulations for the territory and other property of the United States, is entirely overlooked; very consistently, indeed; for if the whole property should be squandered away to make independent freeholders, or surrendered to the states wherein the common possession happens to be located, there will be no longer any territory belonging to the United States to dispose of, or needing rules and regulations to be prescribed by congress. The government will be made a much simpler machine; but it will be a simplicity purchased with all the wealth, all the rights, and all the good faith of the nation—purchased by prejudicing the claims of the United States, and of every state other than those in which the lands are situated—purchased by setting at nought the first principle of justice, the sacred rights of property, and the explicit engagements not only entered into before the adoption of the constitution, but pledges of faith, without which the confederation itself never would have been sanctioned.

The same principles are applicable to the public lands situated within the states, formed from the territories included in the purchase of Louisiana, and in the Floridas. These are lands not only belonging to the United States, but purchased with monies from their common treasury. Upon the principles recommended in the message, the whole mass, of them may be given away to foreigners, to emigrants from every quarter of the globe, aliens and perhaps enemies to this country, who may thus be converted into independent freeholders, and constitute, under this improved code of morals, the best part of the population. The subscribers deem it an excellent part of the policy of the union to welcome the useful industry of foreign freemen seeking the enjoyment of liberty and equal rights and honest subsistence, and the chances of affluence upon our shores; but they conceive it neither politic nor just to bestow upon them, or upon any adventurers, whether of foreign or of domestic birth, the acquisitions of the nation, made with the monies levied upon all the people in all the states.

Congress are told in the message that it cannot be expected that the new states will "remain longer contented with the present policy, after the payment of the public debt." By the present policy is here meant the policy of holding and disposing of the public lands as public property. The proposal is, therefore, to change the present policy, for that of giving away this public property, partly to individual adventurers, and the remainder to the "new states"—one of which is the state of Tennessee. And what are the arguments by which this change of policy, or, in other words, this surrender of property, is urged? It is said that "the adventurous and hardy population of the west, besides contributing their equal share of taxation under our impost system, have, in the progress of our government, for the lands they occupy, paid into the treasury a large proportion of forty millions of dollars; and, of the revenue received therefrom, but a small part has been expended amongst them." Is this a reason for giving away to new adventurers, or to new states, the property belonging to the adventurous and hardy population of the west, in common with the adventurous and hardy population of all the rest of the union? To the epithets of adventurous and hardy, applied to the population of the west, the subscribers take no exception, as descriptive of qualities truly belonging to that class of our fellow citizens:

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that population went forth from the old and long settled states, from the thirteen confederates of the revolution, and left behind them a population not less adventurous and hardy than themselves. If the population of the west have contributed their equal share of taxation under our impost system, so have the population of all the rest of the union. If, in the progress of the government, they have paid into the treasury a large portion of forty millions of dollars *for the lands they occupy*, they have received, in the *property* of those lands transferred to them by the nation, the value to them of many hundred millions of dollars as an equivalent. That a small part of the revenue received from the proceeds of the public lands has been expended amongst them, if estimated in proportion to the relative amount of revenue collected amongst them, may be doubted; but the subscribers believe that justice and policy would alike dictate a larger expenditure of the revenue amongst the population of the west, than has yet been authorised. It is in the western country that the greatest, the most useful and the most expensive works of internal improvement have been undertaken, or are most urgently needed. To such works, unquestionably of a national character, the subscribers believe that a full and ample proportion of the public revenue, whether collected from the sales of public lands or from other sources, ought to be applied, and the monies so appropriated would be almost exclusively expended among the population of the west. It is in this manner that, without doing injustice to any other part of the union, the proceeds of the sales of the public lands may be applied to the special improvement of the western country; that they may be, beneficially to all, expended among the settlers of the public lands themselves, and, while contributing to the improvement of the whole union, facilitate and encourage the progress of the new settlements, by furnishing, at once, occupation for industry, reward for labor, and the rapid appreciation of the lands upon which the settlers may fix their abode. Such, the subscribers believe, are the dictates of a policy, at once prudent and magnanimous: but this policy cannot be promoted by arresting the progress of works already commenced; by refusing appropriations for works demonstrated to be of a national character; or by giving away to single adventurers, or to the new states, the whole invaluable fund, inexhaustible, if duly managed, for long centuries to come, of lands purchased by the blood of our revolutionary fathers, and by their treasures or our own.

In this examination of the proposal to *give away* all the public lands of the union, the subscribers have deemed it their indispensable duty, though a painful one it has been, to resort to the first principles of natural justice, to the sacred right of property, and to the positive injunctions of the constitution, to prove that it is alike subversive of them all. The project itself is not new: the subscribers are unwilling either to trace its origin, or to scan the motives and purposes from which it proceeded. But never before have they witnessed—never again, they will hope, may it be seen seriously recommended in a message from the president to the congress of the United States. The public lands are the property of the union; the possession, the use, and the disposal of them, for the benefit of the whole, are guarantied by the elementary principle at the foundation of civil society, by the immutable laws of justice, and by the express terms of the constitution, which we have all sworn to support. The power to give them away has not only never been delegated to congress; it has been, by direct implication, prohibited. The attempt to give them away, by an act of congress, would be an act of transcendent usurpation, null and void in itself, and substituting arbitrary power in the place of constitutional right. The attempt to carry it into effect would be a dissolution of the union—an inextinguishable brand of civil war. This the subscribers do with the profoundest conviction believe; this they cannot, without violating the trust reposed in them by their constituents, refrain from declaring. They solemnly deprecate the contingency that such a proposal should ever again be made.

Congenial with it, and apparently flowing from the same erroneous and partial fundamental principle of government, that the wealthy land-holders are the best part of the population, the subscribers are constrained to consider all the recommendations of the message in relation to the manufacturing interest of the country. The spirit of the message looks steadily, though with occasional blenching, to that interest, as *a victim to be sacrificed*. The approaches to the altar are not always direct, but the instrument of death is never sheathed, and the grasp with which it is held is ever intent to strike the blow. As in the principle of limitation to the congressional power of appropriating money for internal improvement, so, in the restriction of that which may be exercised for the protection of domestic industry, care is taken to commence with a general axiom, which the friends of the manufacturing interest themselves will readily admit. That the revenue of the national government should be adapted to their expenditures, and that the expenditures should be strictly limited within the sphere of objects warranted by the constitution, and regulated by a severe and vigilant economy, the most ardent friends of the manufactures will cheerfully allow. Nor would they deny "that the protection afforded by existing laws to any branches of the national industry should *not exceed* what may be necessary to counteract the regulations of foreign nations, and to secure a supply of those articles of manufacture essential to the national independence and safety in time of war." If the enunciation of the principle of legitimate protection in these terms discloses a mind in search of reasons for withdrawing the protection secured by existing laws, it is rather in the disposition thus evinced, than in the abstract proposition with which it is clothed, that the manufacturing interest may discern the determined hostility with which it is assailed. The manufacturer asks for no protection beyond that which may be necessary to counteract the regulations of foreign nations, and to secure a supply of the articles essential to the national safety in time of war. But this protection has been extended to the manufacturing establishments by the existing laws. It has been extended to them, not as a favor to that separate interest, for no such favor has ever been indulged in the legislation of the union, but for the purpose of counteracting the injury of foreign regulations, and for the purpose of securing the supply of articles essential to the national safety in war. The manufacturers of the old and long settled states have been protected from the injurious regulations of foreign nations, as the planters of the south and the settlers of the west have been protected from the depredations and hostile incursions of Indian savages. Nearly the whole charge of the military peace establishment is borne by the nation for the protection of the south and of the west. Of the millions upon millions expended, ever since the existence of the government, upon Indian wars and negotiations, the manufacturer of Pennsylvania, of New Jersey and of Massachusetts, has paid, and continues to pay, his full proportion. And what is Indian war or Indian negotiation to him? The whole naval establishment of the union is maintaind to *protect* the immediate interest of the commercial part of the community. The manufacturer, the farmer, the planter, have no direct interest in this; they all pay taxes to protect from foreign hostility the property of the merchant and the person of the navigator. The war last waged with Great Britain, and which cost the nation upwards of a hundred millions of dollars, and perhaps fifty thousand lives, for what was it proclaimed but for wrongs to the merchant and the mariner, in which the manufacturer and the farmer, as distinct classes of society, had not one dollar of interest, yet for the maintenance of which they bore their equal portion of taxation, and devoted their equal portion of lives? The manufacturer of the interior has the same right to the protection of the whole union against the regulations of foreign countries, as the merchant upon the coast, or the mariner upon the ocean. The manufacturer of the north has the same right to the protection of the nation against the competition of foreign rivals, armed with foreign laws, as the planter of the south, or the settler in the west, has to the same protection against the robberies and butcheries of Indian savages, instigated by the secret impulses and profuse subsidies of the same foreign rivals. The manufacturer asks no more. The principle in the message now under examination is in terms equally applicable to *all* branches of the national industry. The protection afforded by existing laws to the southern planter and the western settler, to the merchant and navigator, should *not exceed* what may be necessary to counteract foreign hostility, and secure the national independence and safety. If the separate and exclusive interest of the manufacturer or of the northern farmer were consulted, the army might be disbanded; the wooden walls of the navy might be laid up in ordinary, and its gallant seamen be discharged from the service. Six or seven annual millions more of expenditure might be retrenched, and the government be reduced to a machine of still more edifying simplicity—so simple, indeed, as to be left without occupation worthy of the cost of its own maintenance, and bound, in the pursuit of its own policy, to dissolve itself as a useless and cumbersome burden to the nation.

But the practical question of the message is not, what degree of protection ought to be *extended* to any branch of the national industry, but what degree of protection, by the existing laws, it ought *not to exceed*. And the principle is thus laid down by way of introduction, to a recommendation that the *protection* actually granted by the existing laws to a particular interest, namely, that of the manufactures should be gradually diminished—if, upon investigation, it shall be found, *as it is believed it will be*, that the legislative protection granted to that interest is greater than is *indispensably* requisite for these objects, that is, for counteracting the regulations of foreign nations, and for securing a supply of those articles of manufacture essential to the national independence and safety in time of war.

To this inquiry and investigation the subscribers would interpose no objection whatever, provided that the same investigation shall be instituted to ascertain whether the protection granted by existing laws to other great though partial interests, namely, to the southern planter and western settler, to the merchant and the mariner, do not exceed what may be indispensably requisite for counteracting the regulations of foreign nations, and for securing the independence and safety of the nation. The investigation, to be just and impartial, must extend equally to all the interests *protected* by the expenditure of the national revenues; and if the standard of inquiry shall be the smallest possible amount of *protection* indispensable to the manufactures, let the same standard, the smallest possible amount indispensable to the planter and the settler, the merchant and mariner, be applied to the estimates of expenditure to be hereafter bestowed upon them.

But the subscribers cannot forbear to call the attention of the house, and of the nation, to the formal abandonment, in the message, of the very principle of just and lawful protection to the manufacturing interest laid down by itself. Scarcely has the circle of limitation been drawn round the unquestionable

duty of the government to protect the manufactures by its laws, when, by a most remarkable instance of self contradiction, the message abandons its own principle, and substitutes another and a totally different one in its stead. "Those (it now says), who take an enlarged view of the condition of our country, must be satisfied that the policy of protection must be ultimately limited to those articles of domestic manufacture which are indispensable to our safety in time of war." The subscribers will not scrutinize, with logical acuteness, the further limitations, even of this measure, which may be detected in the subsequent qualifications of this diminished standard; nor inquire how the indefiniteness of a "reasonable scale and of a liberal support" can be applied to a list of articles *indispensable* to the safety of the nation. Articles indispensable to the safety of a nation would seem to admit of little latitude in the formation of their catalogue; nor can much commendation be due to the liberality which provides for its own indispensable necessities—but it is to the principle itself that the subscribers deem it their duty to take exception, as utterly inconsistent with that which had been just before laid down; as abandoning the future interests of domestic industry to the mercy of foreign legislation, leagued with foreign competition; and, finally, as consigning all the great manufacturing establishments of the country to speedy and inevitable destruction.

In this last proposition, as in the recommendation to give away all the public lands, the house and the country cannot fail to discern a projected revolution of government. When the very first act of congress, after the organization of the new government, that appears upon the statute book of the United States, declared the necessity that duties should be laid on goods, wares and merchandises imported, the purposes to be accomplished by that act were declared to be the support of government, the discharge of the debts of the United States, and *the encouragement and protection of manufactures*. Thus, from the very foundation of this government—from the day when George Washington was first inaugurated as president of the United States, the *protection*, ay, and the *encouragement*, of manufactures has formed one of the fundamental objects of the national policy. But here, in the compass of one short page of this message, we are told, *first*, that the *protection* afforded by *existing laws* to *any* branches of the national industry, should not exceed what may be necessary to counteract the regulations of foreign nations, and to secure a supply of those articles of manufacture essential to the national independence and safety in time of war. This, we are told, is, in justice, due in effecting the adjustment of the future revenue to the interest of the different states, and even the preservation of the union itself: And, in the next breath, we are told that the policy of protection must be ultimately limited to those articles of domestic manufacture which are indispensable to our safety in time of war. The principle of affording *encouragement* to manufactures, proclaimed in the first act of the first congress, is discarded. The protection to be gradually diminished is the protection of existing laws. The revenue is to be reduced, not merely for adaptation to the necessities of the public expenditures, but with the express object and design of *discouragement* to manufactures, by diminishing the protection which they enjoy; nor is this discouragement to cease, till all the protection which now shields them from the deadly hostility of foreign competitors, dictating the death warrants of foreign legislation, shall be withdrawn, and the niggardly boon of protection shall be denied to all but articles of indispensable necessity to safety in time of war.

It is, therefore, a revolution in the government which the message now proposes. It is the adoption for the future of a system of policy directly opposite to that with which the administration of Washington laid the foundations of the social existence of this great community—our national and federal union. Those foundations were, that *all* the great interests of the nation were *alike* entitled to defence and protection by the national arm, and from the national purse. And to the interest of manufactures was the first pledge of encouragement and protection self imposed by the good faith of the nation. That pledge is now, by the recommendations of this message, to be withdrawn. The government is to be reduced to a simple machine, and its operations of superintending beneficence are to be *unfelt*. The great body of the manufacturers, including the numerous classes of mechanics, handicraftsmen, and artificers, and with them great multitudes of cultivators of the soil, though not that best part of the population, the independent freeholders, all the hard-working men, in short, the *laboring* part of the exclusively free population of the country, are to be turned out of the paternal mansion, cast off as worthless children of the common parent, and surrendered to the mercy of foreign laws, enacted for the express purpose of feeding foreign mouths with the bread denied by our simplified machine of government to them.

Under that system of policy, thus now proposed to be abandoned and proscribed, the nation has risen from a depth of weakness, imbecility and distress, to an eminence of prosperity unexampled in the annals of the world. It has flourished in despite of all foreign competition, and all foreign legislation, whether in peace or at war. It has flourished by the undeviating pursuit of that very policy, which we are now urged to abandon and to proscribe. It was by counter legislation to the regulations of foreign nations, that the first operations of the government of the United States were *felt* by their people: *felt*, in the activity given to their commerce—*felt*, in the encouragement and protection extended to their manufactures—felt, in the fulfilment of the public engagements to the creditors of the nation—felt, in the gradual, though the subscribers grieve to say yet imperfect, discharge of the debt of justice and of gratitude due to the warriors of the revolution—felt, in the rapid increase of our population, in the constantly and profitably occupied industry of the people, in the consideration and respect of foreign nations for our character—in the comfort, and well-being, and happiness of the community—felt, in every nerve and sinew, in every vein and artery of the body politic. That for this government the proposition should now be earnestly pressed upon congress to substitute another, the supreme excellence of which shall consist in its being *unfelt*, when we look to the source from which the exhortation proceeds, cannot but move our special wonder. The subscribers can have no partiality for a government, founded upon the consideration that the benefit of its operations shall be unfelt.

From the great manufacturing interest of this country, then, and from all the interests, whether agricultural or commercial, indissolubly linked with it, the protection of the national laws, now existing, is so far as they are or may be affected by foreign regulations, by the recommendations of the message, to be gradually withdrawn: and protection is hereafter to be limited to one specific class of articles of manufactures, under the denomination of articles indispensable to the safety of the nation in time of war. The subscribers ask, what is the reason for this distinction; and what are the articles thus to be distinguished with pre-eminent and permanent favor? Why is protection, why is this specific mode of protection, by high and prohibitory duties, upon the article when imported from abroad, to be extended to articles indispensable to the national safety in time of war, when it is at the same time to be denied to all others? The protection of high duties is founded upon the principle of shielding the domestic manufacturer from the ruinous competition of foreigners, producers of the same article. This principle is founded, not upon the nature or uses of the article, but upon the *right* of the citizen to protection, pledged to him by the social compact, the correlative obligation of his country to him, for his duty and obligation of allegiance to her. Why is the planter of the south, and the new settler of the west, entitled to the protection of the nation, at the cost of many annual millions, to maintain an army to make that protection effective? Why, but because that planter and that settler are bound in allegiance to that country whose protection they are thereby entitled to claim? Why are the merchant, the mariner, the fisherman, entitled to protection, and why is a navy maintained at the cost of annual millions to make that protection effective? Because the merchant, the mariner, the fisherman, owe their allegiance to the country which protects them. This protection is due to them in peace as well as in war: else why do you maintain an army and a navy in time of peace? The manufacturer is entitled to the same protection from his country as the planter, as the new settler, as the merchant, as the mariner, as the fisherman, and for the same reason—because he owes to that country his allegiance. He bears his portion of the burden of expenditures, sustained by the nation to maintain an army and a navy for the protection of interests which are not his. He has a *right* to claim the same protection to his own. It is the *right of the citizen*, and not the necessities of the community, which constitutes the fundamental principle, upon which the obligation to protect the interest of the manufacturer, or of any other member of society, is incumbent upon the nation. The subscribers believe, therefore, that the distinction between articles of manufacture indispensable to the safety of the nation in time of war, and other articles, cannot in any manner affect the right of the manufacturer to protection, or the duty of the government to extend it. It is the interest of the citizen, and not the wants of the country, which circumscribes the legitimate objects of protection. In the formation of the social compact, undoubtedly the safety and independence of the whole are the ultimate object of every engagement undertaken by the community to protect the interests of every one of its parts; but that safety and independence are to be secured as much by the protection of interests, contributing to her well being in time of peace, as by that of securing to herself a supply of the instruments of death, necessary for a battle or a siege.

But were the distinction assumed in the message, of discriminating between articles of manufacture, indispensable to the safety of the nation in time of war, and other articles, with reference to the respective rights of each of the classes to temporary or permanent protection, just, why is this specific mode of protection, high duties upon the imported article, recommended? If the object to be attained is to secure an abundant supply of the articles, the policy of the government would seem to be, rather to admit them free of impost, and even to encourage the importation of them by bounties than to burden them with onerous duties. The articles of most indispensable necessity in time of war, are articles of little or no use in time of peace. The policy of erecting and supporting manufactures of them in time of peace, that is, at a time when, from their very nature and from the slender demand for them, they must be obtainable from abroad upon the cheapest terms, and when you have little or no demand or use for the articles which you thus deliberately make costly to you beyond all necessity or reason, seems to be exceedingly questionable. You saddle with burdensome taxation articles which you might obtain almost gratuitously from abroad; you tax yourselves to pay enormously dear for articles which you compel yourselves to buy, which you do not want,

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and for which you have no use, because the time may come when you will want them; and then you choose to have them made by your own citizen, and by no foreigner—when the very tax that you impose, would supply you from abroad with stores of the articles sufficient for a ten years' war, at less cost than you now lavish upon your manufacturer to furnish you the same supply. Again, it may very reasonably be questioned, whether in the present or in any possible future condition of this country, and of the rest of the world, any article of domestic manufacture whatever can be essential to the independence or safety of the nation in the sense that it must necessarily be manufactured within the country, and not imported from abroad. Assume the broad principle that the independence and safety of a nation are highly promoted and rendered effective by her possessing within herself all the resources essential to the subsistence, the comfort, and the enjoyments of her people in war and in peace, and the subscribers give to it their hearty assent—and from this principle they derive the firm belief that sound policy requires of the nation the constant perpetual *protection* of the manufacturing interest generally, as the duties of the social compact impose the same protection upon her, as a duty to the citizen manufacturer. Narrow down your protective system to a mere list of contraband of war, and you not only load the nation with burdens, utterly useless to herself when she bears them, inadequate to your purpose in the very contingency for which you would provide, but you put to the ban a vast multitude of the free laborers of the country, and involve yourselves in the inextricable absurdity of holding the nation bound to foster and encourage the arts of war, and to prostrate and sacrifice the arts of peace.

The subscribers are then convinced that the principle broadly laid down in the message, "that the policy of protection must be ultimately limited to those articles of domestic manufacture which are indispensable to our safety in time of war," is erroneous and unsound. They remark that this is the first time that such a policy has ever been suggested by any chief of the executive government to congress, from the establishment of the constitution to this day, and that it is proposed avowedly to subvert the system of policy which has hitherto invariably prevailed. Alarmed at the violation of rights and at the desolation of property which it portends in a special manner to the great mass of their constituents, they seek in the message itself the arguments by which this novel plan of government is attempted to be sustained. They are aware that it flows very naturally and directly from the fundamental maxim, that the wealthy land-holders, cultivators of the soil, are the best part of the population. That it is entirely congenial to the determined purpose of abolishing the national bank. That it tallies exactly with the proposal to give away all the public lands, to multiply the best part of the population. That it is in perfect coincidence with the proposal to abandon *gradually* all appropriations for internal improvements, to sell all the stocks held by the government in the funds of incorporated companies, and *then* to reduce the duties of impost to a simple, economical revenue standard.

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole."

And, in carrying out this system to its inevitable consequences, it is apparent that, when all this shall have been done, the same spirit of simplicity and reform will command that the army should be disbanded, because its only use is to protect one portion of the community at the expense of all the rest; that the navy should be gradually diminished, and ultimately abolished; because the degree of protection which it extends to the commerce and navigation of the country, may exceed what shall be indispensably necessary to counteract the regulations of foreign powers; and, finally, that the government of the union, simplified into a machine of total uselessness and inability to protect any great interest of the nation, should dissolve itself into its original elements, and vanish—the baseless fabric of a vision.

The subscribers believe that to secure to the nation during war, a supply of *all* the articles necessary to the subsistence, comfort, and well being of the people, is *one* of the objects which require and command the protection of manufactures generally, as one of the great duties of the nation itself. But to limit the policy of protection to the *articles of domestic manufacture* indispensable to our safety in time of war, is tantamount to the denial of all protection to every article, excepting those the want of which and the uses of which are applicable only to the state of war. Food and raiment are articles indispensable to the safety of a nation in war as well as in peace. If it were meant that all articles of domestic manufacture, serving for food or raiment, should be entitled to the permanent and ultimate protection of the national government, the limitation itself presented by the message would be nugatory. With that understanding all the manufactures of woollen and of cotton would have an equal claim to permanent protection with those of iron, lead, or copper. The necessities of the nation in time of war furnish an unanswerable argument for the protection of its manufactures—of all its manufactures in time of peace. This is the sound principle. The attempt to draw a line of distinction between articles indispensable to our safety in time of war, and all other articles, with a view to confer the exclusive privilege of permanent protection upon the former, and to withdraw all protection from the latter, must be utterly deceptive, and, if carried out into practice, could terminate only in gross injustice.

In the report of the committee of ways and means, which accompanied their bill to reduce and otherwise alter the duties on imports, it is said that they have endeavored to arrange the duties with reference to the principle of raising twelve millions and a half of revenue upon from sixty-five to seventy millions of dutiable commodities, at rates of from ten to twenty per cent. varying from them chiefly in those instances where national independence in time of war seemed to demand some sacrifice in peace, (as in the case of iron.) Thus iron is the only article specified by the committee of ways and means as entitled to extraordinary and permanent protection, by heavy duties of impost, to defend the article of domestic production from the competition of importation from abroad—and the exemplification in their bill is, to shield the article of iron, by duties five or six times heavier than the fragment of impost to which they abandon the articles of wool, woollens, and cotton fabrics. But this favoritism extended to the article of iron, is founded upon a misapplication of the principle upon which it professes to rely. The only reason which makes it an object of importance to the nation, to possess within itself a supply of articles of exclusive use and necessity in times and for purposes of war, is because the supply of those articles from abroad, in time of war, may be cut off or greatly obstructed by the power of the enemy. Of all other articles, the supply may be as abundant from abroad in time of war, by the conveyance of neutral flags, as in time of peace. The articles usually denominated contraband of war, may be intercepted by the enemy, and cannot be protected by the neutral flag. The list of these articles of contraband is usually regulated by treaties. The number of them, as recognized by the customary law of nations, independent of treaty stipulations, is very unsettled. Great Britain, being almost always a belligerent nation, and possessed of preponderating power upon the ocean, has, in latter times, constantly struggled to enlarge the list, by including in it not merely the fabricated instruments of warlike destruction, such as cannon, muskets, swords, pikes, bombs, grenades, and the like, but provisions, and the materials especially for ship building. All the other maritime nations, on their part, endeavor to contract the list of contraband, and confine it to articles actually wrought and manufactured, and used only and exclusively for war. We have had treaties both with France and Great Britain, each containing a list of articles to be understood between the parties as contraband of war. The treaties with France contain the most contracted, and the treaty of 19th November, 1794, with Great Britain, the largest list of contraband that has ever been claimed by modern belligerent nations; and it so happens that, in both these treaties, unwrought iron is expressly excluded from the list of contraband. No nation has ever pretended that it was or should be included in that list. The supply of it from abroad cannot, therefore, be intercepted by the enemy in time of war, and there is no reason whatever for protecting by high duties the domestic production of it against the foreign competitor, other than the reason common to all other articles or productions of domestic industry. It stands upon the same footing with all the rest, and has no claim whatever to superior protection, from its being merely the principal material from which the instruments of death are composed. It is, therefore, extreme injustice to all other articles of domestic growth or manufacture, to withdraw from them their just share of protection, to heap it upon the solitary article of iron.

The subscribers, therefore, believe that the principle itself advanced in the message, and illustrated by the recommendation gradually to withdraw from the manufactures of the country all the protection which they enjoy by the existing laws of the United States, with the single exception of the articles indispensably necessary for the national independence and safety in time of war, is incorrect, unjust and unconstitutional. They believe that protection, permanent protection to the interest of domestic industry, including agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, is a right secured to the citizens whose property and subsistence depend upon that protection, *by the constitution itself, as well as by the laws;* that the withdrawal from them of that protection, would be the denial to them of a constitutional right, and equivalent to a sentence of banishment upon them. In saying this, the subscribers do not deny the right of the government to modify this protection by an adjustment of the revenue to the necessary public expenditures. They object neither to the reduction of the revenue, nor to the reduction of duties of imposts; both these operations may be effected without impairing the protection enjoyed by domestic industry, and they are precisely the operations which it is at this time the duty of the government of the United States to perform.

The recommendation of the message, gradually to withdraw from the manufactures the protection which they enjoy by existing laws, appears to the subscribers the more exceptionable, as it obviously countenances the principles asserted, as well as the attitude assumed of hostility to the manufacturing interest, and of defiance to the government of the union, under the shield of state sovereignty, by popular commotion in one of the members of the union. Before the message was delivered, a convention, assuming to represent the people of South Carolina, and to exercise, in their name, an absolute, unlimited, and, therefore, despotic power of sovereignty, had issued an ordinance, declaring and *ordaining* that all the several acts and parts of acts of the congress of the United States, for imposing duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities, *and now having actual operation and effect within the United States*, were null, void, and no law, nor binding upon the state of South Carolina, its officers or citizens.

And the same convention, by the same ordinance, had ordained that all promises, *contracts*, and obligations, made or entered

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into, or to be made or entered into, with purpose to secure the duties imposed by the said acts, and all judicial proceedings which should be thereafter had in affirmance thereof, were, and should be, held utterly null and void.

The same convention had further ordained that it should not be lawful for any of the constituted authorities, whether of the state of South Carolina, or of the United States, to enforce the payment of duties imposed by the said acts of congress within the limits of that state; that it should be the duty of the legislature to adopt such measures, and pass such acts, as might be necessary to *prevent the enforcement, and arrest the operation* of the said acts, and parts of acts, of the congress of the United States, within the limits of that state, from and after the first day of February then next.

The same convention had further ordained that all the officers of the state, civil or military, except members of the legislature, should take an oath to obey, execute, and enforce the said ordinance, and such act or acts of the legislature as *might* be passed in pursuance thereof; that the offices of every individual who should omit or neglect to take this oath, should be, thereby, *ipso facto*, vacated; and that no juror should be empannelled in any of the courts of the state, in any cause in which should be in question the ordinance, or any act of the legislature passed in pursuance thereof, unless he should, first, in addition to the usual oath, have taken an oath to obey, execute, and enforce the ordinance, and all acts of the legislature to carry the same into operation and effect.

And the same convention, speaking as the people of South Carolina, further declared, that they would consider any act on the part of the federal government to enforce the laws thus nullified, *otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country*, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the union; that they would thenceforth hold themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political connexion with the people of the other states, and would forthwith proceed to organize a separate government, and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent states might of right do.

This ordinance was issued, bearing date the 24th day of November. Ten days after which, on the 4th of December, the message of the president, after noticing that, in one quarter of the United States, opposition to the revenue laws had risen to a height which threatened to thwart their execution, if not to endanger the integrity of the union, observes, that whatever obstructions may be thrown in the way of the judicial authorities of the general government, it was hoped they would be able, peaceably, to overcome them by the prudence of their own officers, and the patriotism of the people. But that, should this reasonable hope be disappointed, it was believed the laws themselves were fully adequate to the suppression of such attempts as might be immediately made; and that, should the exigency arise, rendering the execution of the existing laws impracticable, from any cause whatever, prompt notice of it would be given to congress, with the suggestion of such views and measures as might be necessary to meet it.

The subscribers could not but observe with concern and surprise, that, in a message delivered at a time when the abovementioned ordinance of the South Carolina convention had been ten days issued, and when its contents had been several days fully known in this city, the condition of things, and the opposition to the execution of the laws of the United States in the state of South Carolina, was described in terms so inadequate, as appeared to them, to the real magnitude of the crisis in the affairs of the union. A document purporting to be the act of the sovereign people of South Carolina—an act of sovereignty so transcendent, as to speak in the language of command to the legislature of the state, as to prescribe oaths to be taken by the existing officers, civil and military, of the state, on the penalty of forfeiting their offices—an act of an authority, spurning, as beneath it, the ties of morality, and assuming to annul existing promises, contracts, and obligations—an act, first depriving the civil tribunals, both of the state and of the United States, of the power of performing their judicial functions, and then declaring that the first effort of the federal government to enforce the laws of the union, otherwise than through the judicial tribunals, should be the signal to the state of South Carolina for dissolving her connexion with this union, and forming a separate government—this act, accompanied with addresses to the people of the state, and of the other twenty-three states, declaring that it was the fixed and unalterable determination of the people of South Carolina never more to submit to a protecting tariff, must have been in the possession of the president at the time when his message was communicated to the two houses of congress. Only six days after the delivery of this annual message, the proclamation emanating from the same source, was published to the world, founded, as appears on its face, upon the ordinance alone, which had thus been in the president's possession before the message was sent to congress. It would seem that the recommendations of the message were so nearly identical with the terms condescendingly proposed as a concession by the authors of the ordinance for the future revenue system of the union, which South Carolina would graciously consent to prescribe, that an expectation was entertained that, on the receipt of the message in South Carolina, the nullifying ordinance would immediately be abrogated. And, indeed, upon an attentive comparison of the recommendations of the chief magistrate with the autocratic concessions of the South Carolina nullifying convention, there will be found between them a shade of difference so nearly imperceptible, that this expectation was not destitute of foundation. To the subscribers this affords but a source of deeper mortification, upon perceiving that formal recommendation in the message of a gradual, and, ultimately, total withdrawal of all legislative protection from all the manufactures of the country, excepting only those articles indispensably necessary to the safety and independence of the nation in time of war; an exception so strangely expounded in the report and bill of the committee of ways and means, to mean *unwrought iron*.

The proclamation did, indeed, take a direct and formal issue with the nullifying convention, upon both the articles of fundamental law, by virtue of which that assemblage asserted their right to exercise sovereign despotic authority in the name of the people of South Carolina. The proclamation denied the right of the people of South Carolina to nullify the laws of the United States. It denied the right of the state of South Carolina to secede from that union, to which the people and state of South Carolina, by the pledge of their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, in the Declaration of Independence, and by their own solemn accession to the constitution of the United States, had bound themselves and their good faith, in the face of God and man. To both these principles of the proclamation the subscribers assent and adhere; and the clear and indisputable consequence from them is, that the South Carolina convention was an unlawful and unconstitutional assembly, and their ordinance an unlawful and unconstitutional act—null and void in itself, and the enforcement of which, by physical power, would be levying war against the United States.

The duties incumbent upon the president of the United States in this emergency, and the deep responsibility by which he is bound to the performance of them, are fully and unequivocally set forth in the proclamation. The sense of those duties was profoundly impressed upon the mind of its author. The subscribers deem it altogether unnecessary, and irrelevant to the present state of this country, to inquire by whom or when, or for what purpose, the absurd doctrines of nullification and secession were first gotten up and promulgated. They well know that those doctrines never can be carried out in practice, but by a dissolution of the union. The consummation of either of them must, in itself, be a dissolution of the union. If any organized power, under any circumstances whatever, in any one state, can nullify the laws of congress, then has the union no legislative, and consequently no judicial or executive power. The government is *ipso facto* dissolved, and the union must crumble to atoms with it. If any one state can at its pleasure secede from the union, every other state must possess the same power; and the constitution of the United States, instead of being a compact ordained and established by the people, to secure to them and *their posterity* the blessings of liberty, is but a partnership of corporate bodies without posterity, without soul, without faith, and ready to trample under foot, as is done by the ordinance of the South Carolina convention, its own promises, contracts and obligations, as well as those of others, or the laws of the land. Resistance against certain laws of the United States, even under the authority of single state governments, has more than once been attempted. The doctrines of nullification and secession have more than once been asserted or countenanced by resolutions of particular state legislatures; but this is the first example since the establishment of the constitution, when a formal organization of the power of the people of a state has been accomplished, not only for the avowed purpose of resisting the laws of congress, but of annihilating the whole system of revenue laws, of dictating to the whole union a new fiscal code, and of interdicting with a sentence of outlawry the *protection* secured by the constitution and the laws to at least one-third part of the people.

The subscribers cannot but lament that the president of the United States, with this ordinance in his hand, with a full knowledge of its whole import, and with a thorough conviction of the duties which it devolved upon him, in defence of the constitution and laws of the union, should, by the whole tenor of his annual message, and especially by the recommendation gradually to withdraw from the manufacturing establishments the *protection* which they enjoy by the existing laws, have given so much countenance and encouragement to the most unjust claims and most groundless pretensions of the South Carolina convention.

There is an aspect in which this controversy must be considered, and in which the subscribers believe it was peculiarly incumbent on the president, as the chief magistrate of the whole people, to withhold all countenance or shadow of support from those pretensions.

The foundation of the complaints, alleged by the South Carolina convention as the justifying cause of their extraordinary proceedings, is a collision of *sectional* interests between the slave-holding and the exclusively free portions of the union. The allegation is, that the protection extended to domestic industry, by the imposition of duties upon the productions of the like industry imported from abroad, necessarily operates to produce inequality in the burden of taxation upon the free and upon the slave-holding portions of the people, to the disadvantage and oppression of the latter: that whatever of taxation is levied by impost upon manufactures and free labor, is more than repaid by this *protection;* that it becomes thereby their interest to increase the protecting duties instead of reducing them; and that, as the labor of slaves cannot be applied to manufactures, and as the agricultural products of the south derive no benefit from this protection, the ultimate result of the impost system is to make

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it at once a tax upon the slave-holder of the south, and a bounty to the free laborer of the north.

This statement of the case presents two prominent points of consideration. The foundation of the argument is an irreconcilable opposition of *interests* between two of the great masses of population constituting the union.

1. This opposition of interests is *geographical*, the division line being that between the states where the population is entirely free, and those where the population consists of masters and slaves; the divisions are of north and south.

2. It is an opposition of interests between *servile* and *free labor*.

The subscribers believe these positions to be very far from correct; but they deem it not necessary to discuss them here; they are the positions upon which the whole system of the proceedings of South Carolina is founded, and as such they must be considered.

It cannot be denied that in a community spreading over a large extent of territory, and politically founded upon the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, but differing so widely in the elements of their social condition, that the inhabitants of one-half the territory are wholly free, and those of the other half divided into masters and slaves, deep, if not irreconcilable collisions of interest must abound. The question whether such a community can exist under one common government, is a subject of profound, philosophical speculation in theory. Whether it can continue long to exist, is a question to be solved only by the experiment now making by the people of this union, under that national compact, the constitution of the United States.

At the formation of the constitution itself, these collisions of interest presented themselves at the threshold. No sooner was the representation of the people in the popular branch of the legislature to be adjusted, than it arose. It is one of the first principles of republican freedom, that the representation of the people should be proportioned to their *numbers*. It is another, that the taxation of the people should be proportioned to their numbers and their property. But here was a community, one half of whom held it for a principle that all popular representation should be proportioned to the numbers of the people, while the other half held a third part of their own numbers as the property of the other two thirds. They claimed, therefore, that, in the popular branch of the legislature, *they* should be privileged with a representation, not only of their numbers, but of their property—of their living machinery.

Here was a great, and, it would seem, an irreconcilable collision of interests between the aggregate parties to the compact under deliberation. How was it adjusted? By concession from the northern and wholly free states. They consented, that while in this hall, in the popular branch of the legislature, they themselves should have a representation proportioned to only their numbers, the slave-holders of the south, should, in addition to their proportional numbers, have a representation here for three fifths of their living property—of their machinery. What was the equivalent for this concession? A provision that *direct* taxation should be levied under this constitution, in the same compound proportion of numbers in the free, and of numbers and property in the slave-holding states.

The basis of this compromise between great conflicting interests was, that the proportion of representation in the popular branch of the legislature, and the proportional burden of *direct* taxation, should be greater in the southern than in the northern, or, in other words, greater in the slave-holding than in the free states. Such was the compromise in principle; how has it operated in practice?

The representation of the slave population in this house has, from the establishment of the constitution of the United States, amounted to rather more than one-tenth of the whole number. In the present congress, it is equivalent to twenty-two votes; in the next congress, it will amount to twenty-five. This is a combined and concentrated power, always operating to the support and exclusive favor of the slave-holding interest, and against that northern free interest which is protected by the duties of impost. This privilege of representation for property has been always enjoyed by the slave-holding states, from the establishment of the constitution to this day; and they will continue to enjoy it as long as the constitution shall remain in force. But it was not enjoyed by them under the confederation, nor can they ever enjoy it under any confederation of states. But while their enjoyment of the privilege under the constitution is constant and unremitting, the correlative and equivalent privilege of lighter direct taxation has been effective to the free states only twice, and for very short periods, in the forty-five years that the constitution has existed. The history of the union has afforded a continual proof that this representation of property, which they enjoy, as well in the election of president and vice president of the United States, as upon the floor of the house of representatives, has secured to the slave-holding states the entire control of the national policy, and almost without exception the possession of the highest executive office of the union. Always united in the purpose of regulating the affairs of the whole union by the standard of the slave-holding interest, their disproportionate numbers in the electoral colleges have enabled them, in ten out of twelve quadrennial elections, to confer the chief magistracy upon one of their own citizens. Their suffrages at every election, without exception, have been almost exclusively confined to a candidate of their own caste. Availing themselves of the divisions which, from the nature of man, always prevail in communities entirely free, they have sought and found auxiliaries in the other quarters of the union, by associating the passions of parties, and the ambition of individuals, with their own purposes, to establish and maintain throughout the confederated nation the slave-holding policy. The office of vice president, a station of high dignity, but of little other than contingent power, had been usually, by their indulgence, conceded to a citizen of the other section; but even this political courtesy was superseded at the election before the last, and both the offices of president and vice president of the United States were, by the preponderancy of the slave-holding votes, bestowed upon citizens of two adjoining and both slave-holding states. At this moment, the president of the United States, the president of the senate, the speaker of the house of representatives and the chief justice of the United States, are all citizens of that favored portion of the united republic. The last of these offices, being, under the constitution, held by the tenure of good behavior, has been honored and dignified by the occupation of the present incumbent upwards of thirty years. An overruling sense of the high responsibilities under which it is held, has effectually guarded him from permitting the sectional slave-holding spirit to ascend the tribunal of justice; and it is not difficult to discern, in this inflexible impartiality, the source of the obloquy which that same spirit has not been inactive in attempting to excite against the supreme court of the United States itself, and of the insuperable aversion of the votaries of nullification to encounter or abide by the decision of that tribunal, the true and legitimate umpire of constitutional, controverted law.

The disproportionate numbers of the slave-holding representation in the house of representatives have secured to it the absolute control of the general policy of the government, and especially over the fiscal system, the revenues and expenditures of the nation. At the first establishment of the government, it was the slave-holding interest which dictated the principle that the public revenues should be raised, not by direct taxes, but by impost. Had direct taxation been resorted to, the very letter of the constitution prescribed that a heavier burden of it should fall upon them than upon the states where no slaves existed. The selection of impost, as the exclusive mode of taxation for raising revenue, was made and dictated by them, and for their special benefit. But they were then willing that, in raising the revenue, some protection should be extended to domestic industry. It had not occurred to them yet, that, by their disproportionate numbers in the popular branch of the legislature, they could exclude all the free labor of the country entirely from the protection of the law.

Under that protection, the industry of freedom has thriven and flourished. Often checked and retarded by that preponderating system of policy which the slave-holding interest, by its disproportionate representation in the general government, was always enabled to prescribe, and to which the labor of the free was compelled to submit, a right to *some* protection, under the compact of constitutional union, had never been denied to it. Sparingly, scantily, and grudgingly as it was dispensed, still the right to protection was conceded; and, in the raising of the revenue, actual protection was, to some degree, yielded. Free labor received its reward; but its prosperity never exceeded that of the slave-holder, nor was the protection which it enjoyed ever equal or comparable to that secured to the slave-holding interest, both by the constitution and the laws.

In this condition of the common country, with the slave-holding interest in possession of all the highest offices of dignity and power, legislative, executive and judicial, a discovery is suddenly made in South Carolina—the only state of the union in which the slave population largely out numbers the free, and where, consequently, six-tenths of the people are the property of the other four-tenths—there it is that the discovery bursts upon the nation, that duties of impost, levied for the *protection* of free labor, are unconstitutional; that domestic industry has no right to the *protection* of existing laws; and that *all* the revenue laws are palpable violations of the constitution of the United States. Upon the heel of this discovery comes immediately the fixed and irrevocable determination, that free labor shall no longer and *never more* enjoy this protection of the law. And how is this determination carried into effect? A convention of the people—that is to say, of rather more than one-half the four-tenths of the owners of the rest—a convention, representing, at the utmost, one hundred and fifty thousand souls, and, of course, less in numbers than three-fourths of the single city of New York, is assembled—itself unconstitutionally constituted, and assembled in defiance of the fundamental laws both of the union and of the state. It assumes, in the broad face of day, the exercise of absolute, despotic, irresistible, uncontrollable power; nullifies the whole code of revenue laws of the United States; dissolves *contracts, promises, obligations*, sanctioned by solemn appeals to God; prescribes oaths, as abhorrent to the pure intelligence of the being invoked to attest them, as to the souls of those upon whom they are imposed; declares the people of South Carolina absolved from all their ties of allegiance and fidelity to *their country;* annihilates the judicial tribunals of the union within the state; and then declares that, if an attempt is made to execute the laws of the union, otherwise than through those annihilated tribunals, South Carolina will secede from that union to which her fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor: from that union she will secede, and constitute herself a supreme, sovereign, feudal dominion of despotic, irresistible, and uncontrollable power. Since the attempt of the Titans to scale the throne of heaven, so bold an enterprise was

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never conceived. Since the project of the builders on the plain of Shinar to make themselves a name, lest they should be scattered abroad upon the whole earth, so gallant an exploit was never undertaken. And it was this moment, when rebellion was stalking forth under the worse than Gorgon shield of state sovereignty, that the president of the United States chose, for recommending to the insulted, vilified, and contemned legislative authority of the union, tamely to yield, in substance, to this overbearing pretension, and gradually to withdraw from the manufacturing establishments, with some vague and indefinite exceptions, the whole protection of the existing *laws*.

It has been seen that by the constitution of the United States, the right of representation in the popular branch of the legislature, and in the colleges of electors to the offices of president and vice president of the United States, is unequally divided between the northern and southern, or, in other words, the free and the slave-holding states; that while the free states are represented only according to their numbers, the slave-holders are represented also for their property; and that the equivalent for this privilege is, that they shall bear in like manner a heavier burden of all direct taxation. That by the ascendancy which their excess of representation gives them in the enactment of the laws, they have invariably, in times of peace, excluded all direct taxation, and thereby enjoyed their excess of representation, without any equivalent whatever. This is, in substance, an evasion of the bilateral provision in the constitution. It gives it an operation entirely one-sided. It is a privilege of the southern and slave-holding sections of the union, without any equivalent to the northern and north western freemen whatever.

It is not a little extraordinary that this new pretension of South Carolina, the state which above all others enjoys this unrequited privilege of excessive representation, released from all payment of the direct taxes, of which her proportion would be nearly double that of any non-slave-holding state, should proceed from that very complaint that she bears an unequal proportion of duties of imposts, which, by the constitution of the United States, are required to be uniform throughout the union. Vermont, with a free population of 280,000 souls, has five representatives in the popular house of congress, and seven electors for president and vice president. South Carolina, with a free population of less than 260,000 souls, sends nine members to the house of representatives, and honors the governor of Virginia with eleven votes for the office of president of the United States. If the rule of representation were the same for South Carolina and for Vermont, they would have the same number of representatives in the house, and the same number of electors for the choice of president and vice president. She has nearly double the number of both. Were a direct tax now to be levied, to which South Carolina herself could not object as unconstitutional, her proportion of it must be just as nearly double that of Vermont, as is the number of her members in the house of representatives. If, by the *protection* to her farmers, and mechanics, and manufacturers, against the competition of foreign labor, armed with foreign legislations, the men of the Green Mountains find brisker markets for the productions of their toil, if their mountains themselves are clad in a fresher and more perennial verdure; if the very face of nature upon her soil gladdens with the hue of hope, and the smile of joy, at the beneficence of their government, acting in auxiliary subserviency to the beneficence of heaven, while the slave-holder of South Carolina cannot derive so much benefit from the protection of man, because his industry is not his own, and all his profits must be earned by the sweat of another's brow, is this a reason to justify him for tearing to pieces the charter of national freedom by which he is bound to the freemen of Vermont? By the letter of that fundamental compact, his power in the enactment of the laws, to be binding upon both, is nearly twice that of the mountaineer. By the letter of that compact too, were the revenues of the whole community to be levied by *direct* taxation, his share of contribution must be nearly doubled. With what pretence of reason, therefore, can he complain of a slight inequality bearing upon him; not by the burden of the impost, which is every where the same, but by the primeval curse of Omnipotence upon slavery, denying to him the remote and contingent advantage which the free laborer of Vermont derives from the protection of the laws?

The subscribers believe, therefore, that the ground assumed by the South Carolina convention for usurping the sovereign and limitless power of the people of that state, to dictate the laws of the union, and prostrate the legislative, executive and judicial authority of the United States, is as destitute of foundation as the forms and substance of their proceedings are arrogant, overbearing, tyrannical and oppressive: they believe that one particle of compromise with that usurped power, or of concession to its pretensions, would be a heavy calamity to the people of the whole union, and to none more than to the people of South Carolina themselves. That such concession by congress would be a dereliction of the highest duties to their country, and directly lead to the final and irretrievable dissolution of the union.

That the president of the United States has a deep and just sense of the solemn duties devolving upon him in this great emergency, the subscribers have seen with great and most sincere satisfaction, by his proclamation, and by his message to congress communicating that document, and others issued from the executive department, together with those emanating from the disorganizing faction in South Carolina. It only remains for him to suit the action to the word. Bound by his official oath to take care that the laws shall be faithfully executed, those laws have armed him with ample power to discharge that duty so long as the execution of the laws shall meet with no resistance by force. Even that resistance also, he has not been left without means, lawful means, to overpower and subdue. If other means be necessary or expedient, it is the duty of the legislature to invest him with them. But with the usurpations of the South Carolina convention there can be no possible compromise. They must conquer or they must fall.

The subscribers are the more deeply impressed with the conviction that no compromise can be authorised or permitted with the insurrectionary spirit of the documents from South Carolina, because they consider them utterly incompatible with the principles of republican government, and because they believe, with equal confidence, that if met with open front and unyielding energy, there is nothing in this array of rebellion in the slightest degree dangerous, they will not say to the existence, but even to the peace and tranquillity of the union. For a conflict of physical force, which may God in his mercy forbid, but should it unhappily ensue, the parties to it are one hundred and fifty thousand, at the utmost, strong, on one side, and ten millions on the other. But the ordinance of nullification itself, and all the other state papers of this new sovereignty in embryo, professedly disclaim all purpose or intention of resorting to physical force, unless in self-defence. If, in the spirit of county court litigation, they can by quibbles and quillets of the law, entangle the justice of the union in a net of subtleties, by capiasses, replevins and withernams; if by imposing unhallowed and detested oaths upon their own citizens, in violation of their allegiance and obligations to their country—if, by enjoining upon them under heavy penalties, fraud, perjury, the breach of their own promises, contracts and obligations, and the forfeiture of all their civic duties as American freemen, if by all these ingenious and peaceable devices the collection of the revenues of the United States within the state of South Carolina, can be practically and permanently frustrated, the purpose of nullification is accomplished; she asks no more—she draws no sword—she faints at the very sight of blood—she thinks "the SOVEREIGN'ST thing on earth,

"Is parmacity for an inward bruise."

and as a *sovereign* state, she will administer nothing but parmacity to heal the inward bruises of the constitution. From the principles announced by the president in his proclamation, and in his recent message, and from all the measures of the government yet adopted in preparation for this exigency, there is no reason to apprehend that force will, in the first instance, be used on the part of the United States. The determination not to yield, is a spirit passive in its nature until aggression provokes it to action. It endures until summoned to resistance in self-defence. In the collision of exasperated passions, it is the temper of aggression that always strikes the first blow. Nullification, in assuming the attitude of self defence, denies its own nature: it is essentially aggressive, and will assuredly find that it can never accomplish its purpose but by hostile action. So long as it stays its hand, however, the laws of the union will have their execution. The executive minister of the law performs his duty until met by the resistance of physical force, and until then the thunder of the ordinance is but a *brutum fulmen*. Let the government of the union in all its branches manifest the pure, unaggressive, but firm and inflexible temper of self defence, and nullification will vanish like a noxious exhalation before the morning sun.

By the constitution of the U. States, it is provided that the U. States shall guaranty to every state in this union a republican form of government. The subscribers believe, with one of the most eminent and virtuous citizens of S. Carolina,* that republican government in that state, ceased, with the ordinance of nullification. It ceased, as he says, "in spirit and in truth." It ceased even in form—government is the enactment and administration of laws, or it is a dominion of arbitrary power—republican government is a government of laws. The government by will, is not republican government. The constitutions of several of the states, expressly declare the intent of their institution to be, to establish a government of laws and not of men. In these United States, the people, although the true and legitimate source of all political power, have never exercised the powers of government themselves. They delegate power by constitutions of government, all under strict limitations to secure the rights of the citizen from the oppression of arbitrary power. Under these constitutions the legislative, the executive, and the judicial powers are separated from each other, a separation without which, some of them expressly declare, and all tacitly recognize that there can be no enjoyment of liberty. They entrust the power of legislation to two co-ordinate assemblies of men, each operating as a check upon the other, and generally under the further check of a qualified negative in the chief executive magistrate. Such is the constitution of the United States. Such is the constitution of the state of South Carolina. These constitutions are the fundamental laws of the land, protective of the rights of every individual citizen. Under this protection, a convention is assembled, representing a part of the people of South Carolina, but assuming to represent them all—acknowledging no law; affecting the exercise of absolute, irresistible, uncontrollable power, and issues an ordinance annulling the constitution and laws of the United States within the state of South Carolina, commanding the legislature of the state to enact

*Thomas S. Grimke.

laws in violation of the constitution of the state; absolving the citizens of the state from the fulfilment of their promises, contracts, and obligations; and imposing upon them oaths, which they cannot take without giving the lie to their consciences in the face of God. The convention which issued this ordinance has an existence authorised by the legislature, for a whole year. After giving out this immutable ordinance, it adjourns, to meet again at the convocation of its president. Upon the principles which it assumes as the rule of action for itself, it is invested with the whole *sovereign* power of the people of South Carolina, subject to no limitation but that of time, and that extending to a whole year. During all that period its authority is paramount to that of the legislature, to the constitution of the state, to the constitution of the United States. It possesses the whole power of the people—legislative, executive, judicial—it may constitute itself a tribunal for the trial of offenders against any ordinance which it may ordain—it may pass sentence of death upon any such offender—it may erect within its hall a guillotine or a gibbet, and execute its own sentences by the hand of its own president. It has passed a law, not only impairing, but nullifying in express terms the obligation of contracts—it may, by the same sovereign power, pass bills of attainder, ex post facto laws—it may proscribe the freedom of the press, the freedom of speech, the freedom of conscience—it may establish a religion, and religious inquisition—it may grant titles of nobility—and lastly, it may invest all these powers in its president, to have, and to hold, and to exercise, to him and the heirs of his body forever. To say that they will not exercise these powers is only to say that they will not thus abuse the power which they claim to possess. It is pure unadulterated despotism—despotism in a single assembly, superseding the protection of the constitution and the laws, guaranteed by the United States to every state in the union, and to all its citizens. During the existence of that convention, the government of South Carolina is not republican. It has no government. It is under the rule of an organized anarchy, with a nominal legislature subordinate to a lawless assemblage of tyrants, calling themselves the people of South Carolina.

It must especially not be forgotten that among the implied, necessarily implied powers, claimed by this convention, is that of enacting laws for the United States—laws paramount even to the constitution of the United States. To repeal a law is to enact a law—to nullify a law is an act of more transcendant authority. The power competent to repeal is competent to enact a law. To nullify a law is an act of superior and paramount authority. The ordinance of South Carolina, nullifying in words only within the limits of that state, the whole code of revenue laws of the United States assumes, in fact, the authority of repealing that whole code throughout the United States. It legislates for the whole union. Submission to it for one instant would recognize an appellate power of legislation, co-extensive with the whole union, in every one of its states. To call such a system anarchy, would be to give it too mild a name. It is usurpation of the most odious character—usurpation of one state over the laws of twenty-three, and brands the state itself as well as the individuals by whom the absurd pretension is raised, with the indelible character of "close ambition varnished o'er with zeal."

From these pretensions the state of South Carolina must desist. The subscribers have no doubt that unless encouraged to persevere in them by some faltering or weakness of concession on the part of the government of the United States, she will desist from them, and thereby redeem herself from the obloquy of a desperate struggle to subdue the whole family of her sisters under the dominion of her own ungovernable will. She must resume her seat in the family circle, from which she has so unadvisedly started, and submit to the laws, which she shared in establishing, until she can persuade her associated equals to concur with her in repealing them. Of this result the subscribers entertain not the slightest doubt, if the clear and indisputable rights of the whole union shall be maintained with becoming perseverance and fortitude by the government of the U. States.

But the subscribers have seen with deep regret that the message upon which it has been their indispensable duty to animadvert, does in its whole purport relating to the administration of the internal affairs of the nation, and most especially in the recommendation to congress gradually to withdraw from the manufacturing establishments of the country, with a vague and indefinite exception, the whole protection of the existing laws, give an alarming encouragement, not only to the unwarrantable proceedings of the South Carolina convention, but to the most extravagant doctrines and outrages of nullification. Connected with the other effective recommendations to abandon all further purposes of national internal improvement, and all future revenues from the public lands, with the hand of ruin raised against credit and currency, in the denunciations of the bank of the U. States, and, at the root of all, the proclamation of the principle that the wealthy land-holders, or, in other words, the slave-holding planters of the south, constitute the *best part* of the national population, they can perceive nothing other than a complete system of future government for this union directly tending to its dissolution—a system totally adverse to that which has prevailed from the establishment of the constitution, till the day of the delivery of the message—a system altogether sectional in its character, wasteful of the property of the nation, destructive to its commerce, withering to its future improvement, blasting to the manufactures and agriculture of two thirds of the states, and looking in its ultimate results to sacrifice the labor of the free to pamper with bloated profits the owner of the slave.

The admission in the message, that the laws for the raising of revenue by imposts have been in their operation unequal and oppressive upon the south, the subscribers believe to be utterly without foundation. They have proved that by the constitution of the United States the principle is expressly recognised, that as an equivalent for the privilege of slave representation in the legislature and the electoral colleges, the slave-holders should bear an additional and proportional burden of all *direct* taxation. It may be that under any possible system of taxation, the owner of slaves may feel the burden of it more heavily than the free man, because he must pay the taxes of his slave as well as his own. All taxation is an assessment upon property—all just taxation bears some proportion to the property of the party taxed. If the rich pays a larger tax than the poor, it is not therefore a tax unequal and oppressive upon the rich. The unequal tax is that which exacts from the poor the same amount of contribution as from the rich. There are, to speak in round numbers, two millions of slaves in this union. At the average value of three hundred dollars a head, they constitute a mass of six hundred millions of dollars of *property*, all owned in the slave-holding states, who possess, or may if they please possess, all other kinds of property which *can* be held in the states where slavery is exploded. The slave-holders, therefore, are, as respects the whole union, the rich, and the freemen of the other states are the poor, of the community. The slave-holders own six hundred millions of dollars' worth of wealth more than the inhabitants of the wholly free states. And this property is self productive. It is no breed of barren metal, but a breed of living value—a breed of flesh and blood, of bone and sinew, of productive and profitable labor. Its owners hold it not only as individual property, but as collective political power. It yields them not only the increase of increasing population, equivalent in this country to a compound interest of three per cent. a year. It yields them not only the fruits of all the industry of two millions of human beings, but it yields them, collectively, twenty-five representatives in one branch of the common legislature, and upwards of thirty votes of two hundred and eighty-eight electors of president and vice president of the U. States. Upon what principle of natural justice or equity can the holders of this property pretend that they will not contribute to the revenues of the nation, more than the freeman who holds no such property, and enjoys no such representation.

It has been seen that with a free population of 280,000 souls, Vermont sends to the national house of representatives only five members, while South Carolina, with a like population of less than 260,000, sends nine—New Hampshire, with a free population of 270,000, sends only five. In the year 1813, under the third census, Vermont and New Hampshire had each six members in the house of representatives, and South Carolina the same number as at present, and as she will have under the new census, that is, nine.

In the direct tax of the year 1813, the sum apportioned to the state of New Hampshire was ninety-six thousand seven hundred and ninety-three dollars thirty-seven cents—that upon the state of Vermont was ninety-eight thousand three hundred and forty-three dollars and seventy-one cents—that upon the state of South Carolina was one hundred and fifty one thousand nine hundred and five dollars and forty-eight cents.

If the fifteen millions of annual revenue, which are supposed by the report of the secretary of the treasury to be necessary for the wants of the government, and were proposed by the report of the committee of ways and means to be levied as a permanent revenue, should now be raised by a direct tax, the sum apportioned for its payment to the state of New Hampshire would fall a little short of four hundred thousand dollars—that to the state of Vermont would a little exceed the same amount. The sum apportioned to the state of South Carolina would be upwards of seven hundred and fifty five thousand dollars, very little short of those of the two states of New Hampshire and Vermont together. Is there a human being who can imagine that the people of S. Carolina will pay, of fifteen millions levied by impost, an amount approaching to that which will be paid by the people of Vermont and of New Hampshire united? In strict justice to the non-slave-holding states, all the revenues of the union ought to be raised either by direct taxation, or by a system the operation of which would produce the same result. The slave representation is a permanent unintermitted privilege enjoyed by the owners of the slaves. The equivalent for it ought in justice to bear the same character. Duties of impost do so to a certain extent—but the substitution of them instead of direct taxation, is beyond all question favorable to the slave-holding states. Nine-tenths, at least, of all the revenue raised by impost duties are levied upon the articles of cotton, wool, and woollens, silks, flax and hemp, iron, spirits, and molasses, wines, coffee, tea, and sugar. Now, the consumption, by any part of the slave population, of any one of these articles, when imported, is exceedingly small; instead of being in the proportion of three to five in comparison with that of the free white population, it is certainly not in the proportion of one to ten. If we analyse the articles upon which the great mass of the revenue by impost is raised, we find it to be upon food and raiment; tea, coffee, sugar, wine, molasses, spirits, are of the first kind thus classified; wool, cotton, silk, flax, and leather, are of the second. Now, who does not know that the food and raiment of the slave are almost entirely of domestic growth and production? They are fed upon the fruits, and clad in the

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apparel produced by their own labor on the plantations to which they belong: It is probable that their owners consume more of the articles imported from abroad than an equal number of citizens in the states where all are free; but if so, it is either because they are more wealthy by the possession of slaves, or because they are not accustomed to habits of frugality so parsimonious and self-denying. The passions, the vices, and the virtues, of men, are all modified by their condition in civil society. Among men who subsist only upon the fruits of their own labor, industry and frugality are constantly stimulated by the natural and perpetual impulse of bettering their own condition. Wherever one portion of the community lives in perpetual servitude to another, where master and slave both subsist upon the labor of the slave, industry and frugality not only lose much of their natural influence upon human conduct, but are apt even to lose the name and consideration of virtues. The slave feels neither the spur of industry nor the curb of frugality; for the fruits of his industry are not his own, and his scanty subsistence leaves him nothing to spare. The master's wants, supplied by another's toil, multiply with the means of gratification, and his natural tendencies will be to spend rather than to hoard. All labor to him will assume the hue and disrepute of servitude, and frugality to his eyes will lose her natural healthy bloom, and fade into the livid complexion of penurious avarice. Under these influences, South Carolina, with a free white population rather less than that of New Hampshire, may possibly, by the consumption of imported articles, contribute rather more to the public revenues of the union: but the subscribers have no hesitation in declaring their belief that the difference of amount between them, if ascertained to a dollar, would be found too trifling and insignificant to warrant a whisper of complaint; and that it would bear no sort of comparison to the difference, disadvantageous to South Carolina, which would appear by the levy of an equal amount by direct taxation.

There is then, neither injustice nor oppression upon South Carolina, nor upon the southern portion of the union generally, resulting from the collection of the national revenues, by duties of impost—nor is it true that South Carolina has suffered impoverishment under this system of taxation, in comparison with New Hampshire, Vermont, or New England generally. Of this the unanswerable demonstration is found in the same fact of relative representation in congress, under the successive enumerations of the people. In 1813, under the third census, the representation of South Carolina in this house, consisted of nine members—that of Vermont was six, that of New Hampshire six. Under the last census, S. Carolina retains for the next ten years the same number of nine members; New Hampshire only four, and Vermont only five—New Hampshire and Vermont have thus lost each one member on the floor of the representative hall, while South Carolina has retained her number unimpaired. The relative increase of the population of South Carolina has therefore, for the last twenty years, been greater than that of Vermont or New Hampshire, and let it be remembered, that in South Carolina, this increase of population is at the same time in the most literal sense, an increase of wealth. There, population is property, and the increase of that part of the population which is the property of the remainder, has been in larger proportion. The slaves have multiplied more rapidly than their masters. Thus altogether, for the last twenty years, the population and the wealth of the people of South Carolina has increased more than those of Vermont or of New Hampshire, and this is the result of the system of impost, which the political economists of the new school would teach us to believe is grinding the south to dust for the benefit of the north, and fattening the New Hampshire farmer, and the shepherd of the Green Mountains, upon the spoils of the South Carolina planter.

In examining the part of the message specially referred by the house to the committee of manufactures: namely, that which relates to the *protection* necessary to domestic manufactures, the subscribers have necessarily been led not only to an examination of the principle laid down, as the basis of the recommendations, relating to this particular interest, but to a general survey of all the foundations of the new system of government for this union, the outline of which is presented for the first time in this document. They have considered it as a whole of which all the parts are adapted to each other. As a whole, which, if carried into execution, would change the nature of the government of the United States, and in their belief, at no distant day, effect its dissolution. The assumption of the principle, that with the exception of articles of indispensable necessity in time of war, all legislative protection must ultimately be withdrawn from domestic manufactures, the subscribers believe to be itself contrary to the vital spirit of the constitution, and equivalent to a bill of attainder, not against one individual, but against a whole, respectable, and most important class of citizens—the denial to them of a right secured to them by the social compact of the constitution itself. And this assumed principle appears to us the more exceptionable, inasmuch as it is the identical principle assumed by the nullifying faction of South Carolina, and had but too manifest a tendency to encourage them in the violent and unconstitutional measures by which they were, at the very moment when the message was delivered, arming the worse than eastern despotism of state sovereignty, against that same right of the citizen to the protection of the laws. Had it stood by itself, the recommendation gradually to withdraw from the manufactures the protection of existing laws, would have appeared inconsiderate, and at the moment when made, most unseasonable. But coupled as it was, with recommendations totally to abandon all future purposes of internal national improvement, to give away without equivalent the immensely valuable property in the public lands, and to sacrifice with the national bank, all the property of the nation, in corporate companies for roads and canals: and the whole system emanating from a speculative theory of political morality, pronouncing the wealthy land-holders of every country the best part of their population, the subscribers could neither disguise to themselves, nor could they, consistently with the sense of their duties to their country, withhold the exposure of their conviction that, taken altogether, it presents a decomposition of all the elements which hold this union together—an array of great interests *against* each other, instead of a combination, by mutual concession and mutual support of great interests, in union with each other. The planter of the south, the new settler of the west, the husbandman of the north and centre, the merchant of the Atlantic shore, the navigator of the ocean, and the artisan of the workshop and the loom, have each, in his several sphere of action, a separate and distinct interest, but a common right, a common stake, a common pledge in that great social compact, the constitution of the United States. All are equally entitled to its *protection*, and to that of its laws. To bind, to interweave, to rivet them in adhesion inseparably together, is the duty of the American patriot and statesman: to bring one of those great interests in hostile collision with all or any of the others, is to loosen the bonds of the union, and to kindle the fires of strife. A sound, uniform and accredited currency; an inexhaustible and invaluable fund of common property in the public lands; an organised and effective application of the national energies and resources to great undertakings of internal improvement; and a firm, efficient *protection* of commerce and navigation against the arm of foreign violence, and of manufactures and agriculture against the indirect aggressions of foreign legislation and competition:—these the subscribers believe are the cements, which can alone render this union prosperous and lasting. To decompose and unsettle the currency, to cast away the treasure of the public lands, to abandon all enterprises of internal improvement, and systematically to deny all protection to the domestic manufactures, is to separate the great interests of the country, and to set them in opposition to each other. It is to untie the ligaments of the union.

The subscribers, with the most respectful consideration, but with the freedom which their sense of duty requires, cannot but indulge the hope that the author of the message will reconsider the principles upon which its recommendations are founded, and review them upon a scale of more enlarged political philosophy than that of favoritism for one part of the population, to the disparagement of all the rest; or that of reducing the government of a nation, swelling from tens to hundreds of millions of governable population, to a simple machine. To solve civil society into its elements, is to send back man to the state of nature; it is to degrade the citizen to a savage.

The subscribers believe that this great confederated union is an union of the people, an union of states, an union of great national interests; an union of all classes, conditions, and occupations of men; an union co-extensive with our territorial dominions; an union for successive ages, without limitation of time. They read in the preamble to the constitution, that it was ordained and established by the people of the U. States, among other great and noble purposes, to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their *posterity*. As sovereign states have no posterity, they are incompetent to enter into any such compact. The people of the United States in ordaining the constitution, expressly bound to its observance their posterity, as well as themselves. Their posterity, that is, the whole people of the United States, are the only power on earth competent to dissolve peaceably that compact. It cannot otherwise be dissolved, but by force. But to make it perpetual, the first and transcendant duty of all, who at any time are called to participate in the councils of its government, is to harmonise and not to divide, to co-operate and not to conflict.

The most remarkable characteristic of the controversy, which now threatens the dissolution of the union, is, that it originated in the discontent of one great *protected* interest, with the *protection* extended by the existing laws to another. The controversy is sectional in its nature. It is the superabundantly, the excessively protected interest of the south, which revolts at the feeble and scanty protection of the laws enjoyed by the north, the centre, and the west. To inflame these discontents, and to arm them with offensive weapons, sophisms which reason blushes to be called to confute, are wrought up into axioms of political economy; fiction usurps the place of fact, to invert the most authenticated story of our national independence. Construction nullifies the connection between words and their meaning to make the constitution say what it denies, and deny what it says, and invention is beggared for tales of decay and desolation and poverty and distress, in the south, in the face of an increasing relative representation in this house, and a doubling amount at once of population and property. The southern planter is told that duties of impost are paid, not by the consumer of the dutied articles, but by the producer of cotton, rice and tobacco. What is the purpose of this absurdity? To stimulate his selfish and sordid passion of avarice, and his hatred of the northern manufacturer. It is not true, but his anti-social passions believe it. He is told that this union is a mere confederacy of states—of sovereign states, from which any one of them may break off at pleasure. This is grossly, palpably false,

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and to bolster it up the most notorious historical facts are falsified. He is told that each of the states of this union separately declared itself sovereign and independent, and as bare untruth, is not of itself sufficient to bear out this imposture, the county of Mecklenburg is metamorphosed into the sovereign and independent state of North Carolina, to stamp the legend of the sterling standard upon the base metal of nullification. The tale is utterly groundless, but the abused planter believes it. In the constitution of the United States, the whole people of the union, speaking in the first person, declare themselves parties to it; declare themselves to ordain and establish it for the most exalted purposes of human action, upon this side the grave—even to secure to themselves and to their *posterity*, the blessings of liberty. The planter is told that these are idle, unmeaning, cabalistical words—that there is no people of the United States. That the paper called the constitution of the United States, is a league of despotic corporations, which can have no posterity to whom the blessings of liberty may be secured—which having no soul, can have no dread hereafter of the penalties of violated vows, and can never be excommunicated—which having no conscience, can be bound by no ties of morality to the fulfilment of its promises, contracts and obligations—free from all restrictions, human or divine, independent of all laws of the land or of heaven—sovereign as the throne of Omnipotence, and competent to nullify not only the laws of the whole union, but the unalienable rights of man and the decrees of eternal justice. He is substantially told all this, and he believes it.

He is then told that he is poor, and miserable—that his plantation is going to ruin—that his slaves double their numbers in not less than twenty years—that they are not worth half so much as they were when cotton sold for thirty cents a pound. That in South Carolina they cannot produce half so much as in Alabama, Mississippi, or Louisiana. But that it is all owing to the accursed tariff—all owing to the *protection* of northern manufactures by the laws of the union. He is told that the tariff takes money from his pocket and puts it into that of the northern manufacturer. He is told that the northern manufacturer is a thief and a robber—and that it is upon him, the planter, that his robberies are committed. He is told that a cruel, tyrannical, oppressive *majority* in both houses of congress are the representatives of this highwayman of the north—that they pervert the very principles of popular representation to the purposes of oppression and robbery—that they *dare not* open their hearts to the sentiments of justice and humanity. He is told all this and he believes it.

And behold the whole foundation of the superstructure of nullification. Falsified logic—falsified history—falsified constitutional law, falsified morality, falsified statistics, and falsified and slanderous imputations, upon the majorities of both houses of congress for a long series of years. All—all is false and hollow. And for what is this enormous edifice of fraud and falsehood erected? To rob the free working man of the north of the wages of his labor—to take money from his pocket and put it into that of the southern owner of machinery. It has been said that there is no philosophic falsehood so absurd, but it has been maintained by some sublime philosopher. Surely there is no invention so senseless, no fiction so baseless or so base, but it has been maintained by some learned intelligent, amiable and virtuous, but exasperated and bewildered statesman. Nor was there ever in the annals of mankind an example of a community fretted into madness and goaded into rebellion, by a concerted and persevering clamor of grievances so totally destitute of foundation, and pretences so preposterously fictitious, as that which has found its consummation in the nullifying ordinance of the South Carolina convention.

In the name of the people of South Carolina, that convention have declared, that they will never more submit to a protective tariff—and to place beyond all doubt what they mean by a protective tariff, they have nullified, that is, declared null and void, all the revenue laws of the United States. They have, to the extent of their power, extinguished all the revenues of the United States derived from duties of impost. To nullify the *protection* of the laws imparted to their fellow citizens, constituting more than half the population of the union, they have abolished the revenues of the nation. They have in express terms declared so long as the principles of protection shall be recognised by the laws of congress, "NO MORE TAXES SHALL BE PAID HERE," that is to say in South Carolina.

South Carolina, then, by virtue of her sovereign power, has deprived the people of all the rest of the union of the protection of existing laws; and she has declared that she never more will pay her proportion of the taxes, not even of the taxes imposed for revenue alone, until the principle of protection, that is of protection by the imposition of duties, shall be renounced—renounced forever. In their theory, the South Carolina convention make an all-important distinction between duties imposed for revenue, and duties imposed for protection; but in their practice, they involve them all in one common ruin.

Now, the subscribers cannot suppress the mortification and alarm with which, at the very moment when the arm of one of the states of this union was thus raised, proclaiming with a voice of thunder her inflexible purpose to strike a vital blow at the right, the first constitutional right of more than half the people of the union, to protection—even to the protection of existing laws—that at this peculiar moment, the chief magistrate of the United States should have addressed to the legislative councils a message, recommending not only a gradual withdrawal of *all* that protection, but a whole system of administration for the future government of the union, adapted to that principle of withdrawn and nullified protection—a system revolutionary in its character, totally departing from all the paths of peace and prosperity trodden by Washington and all his successors, down even to him who now calls us to deviate from them; to explore new wastes of desolation, beyond which there is no promised land, but all is one unbounded and interminable desert—a system impending with universal ruin, draining all the sources of fertility from the fountains of internal national improvement, shaking to its foundation all commercial confidence, by the determined annihilation of the bank, and wresting forever from the people of the United States and from their posterity, for unnumbered ages, the inestimable inheritance of the public lands, bequeathed to them by their fathers, or acquired at the expense of their own toil and treasure, as a property common to them all, and already yielding them yearly millions of income, which may be, and ought to be, applied to the employment and compensation of the laborious poor, and at the same time to the permanent and growing improvement of the condition of the people.

Such, in the opinion of the subscribers, is the *protection* due to domestic manufactures—to the interest specially committed, by the standing order of the house, to the charge of the committee of which they are members. The protection necessary to domestic manufactures is the protection of the existing laws. It is the protection extended, though in other forms, to all the other great interests of which the community is composed—the protection enjoyed by the planter of the south, by the woodsman of the west, by the merchant of the populous cities, by the mariner of the seas—protection from foreign hostility—protection from foreign competition.

But the subscribers must not be misunderstood. This protection is in no wise incompatible with a reduction of the revenue, nor even with a reduction of the duties by impost. The taxation of the country may be reduced to the wants of the government, at whatever scale the standard of these wants may be fixed by the wisdom of congress, without at all impairing the principle of protection. The two principles have no necessary connexion with each other; and all this bitter controversy has arisen from the blending of them improperly together. That the taxation of the country ought now to be reduced the subscribers do not believe, because at the present moment the treasury, so far from overflowing, is drained of more than its last dollar. Because the tariff act will not, in their opinion, bring any excess of revenue into the treasury, at least for the two succeeding years; and if even the prospect of such an unexampled evil should approach, the next congress will be invested with ample powers to ward it off, and will certainly not be slow to exert them. Nothing can be more fallacious than the fancy that *we* can control the action of our successors upon subjects over which their jurisdiction will be the same as ours; with this exception, that theirs will be in full vigor, and ours forever extinct. It is not for the dead to give laws to the living. Prospective legislation upon the most uncertain of contingencies, if not absolute usurpation, is akin to it in the impotence of its claims. It is the broken column and mutilated inscription of ETERNAL ROME. If the time should come when even the prospect of a redundant treasury shall be imminent, taxation ought to be, and undoubtedly will be, reduced; and in reducing its amount, the obligations of congress will be to accomplish that object without injuriously affecting any of the great interests of the country. That this cannot be done by one uniform ad valorem duty of any given per centage upon all imported articles, is certain; nor can it without great injustice be effected by discarding all discrimination, except that of articles charged with impost, and articles entirely free. Nothing can be more unequal and oppressive in taxation, than the assessment of the same rates of duty upon all dutied articles. Its first inequality is its bearing upon the rich and the poor; the same tax, which is unfelt by the wealthy land-holder, may crush to the earth the day-laborer who tills his ground. Its next inequality, is that produced by foreign legislation and foreign competition. An article of foreign manufacture comes into your market cheapened by a bounty upon its export, at the place whence it came; it comes in competition with a like article, the production of your own soil or of your own industry; tax it at the same rate of per centage upon its value, as you do an article upon the production of which none of your own citizens have staked their fortunes and subsistence, and you consume all your manufactures with fire. It may be taken as a rule of universal application, that with a uniform rate of ad valorem duties, without discrimination, there can be no domestic manufacturing establishments. This is the protection which they now enjoy by the constitution and existing laws of the United States. This protection the subscribers believe to be indispensably necessary to their existence, and its withdrawal by the general government, whether immediate or by gradual steps, leaves them only the melancholy alternative of sudden death, or slow and lingering extinction. In either event, it will be the sacrifice of all the free industry of the union to that *best part of the population*, the wealthy land and slave-holder of the south. This is the policy recommended by the message of the president of the United States, and against which the subscribers, as members of the committee of manufactures, in submitting this their report to the house, deem it their duty respectfully, but most earnestly to remonstrate.

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